

**INSIDE: The enduring splendor of J.S. Bach**

# Maclean's

MARCH 25, 1985

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

## The New Face of Communism

The torch  
passes to a  
new generation  
in the Kremlin

A fresh start at  
the arms talks

A day in the  
life of Moscow

New Soviet leader  
Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

**Maclean's**

MARCH 25, 1986 VOL. 98 NO. 12

# COVER

## The new face of Communism

The change of command in the Kremlin last week brought not only a new-generation chief to the top of the all-powerful Soviet Communist party but, as Mikhail Gorbachev demonstrated in talks with a lineup of visiting leaders, including Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, a fresh new message to government in Moscow after years under sticky rulers. —Page 28

COVER PHOTO BY TERRY O'NEILL FOR MACLEAN'S



## Nuclear dispersal plan

According to new revelations by an authoritative U.S. defense analyst, some U.S. B-60 bombers would be perched in Canadian airfields on the eve of war. —Page 14



## The splendor of Bach

As Johann Sebastian Bach turns 300 this week, people around the world are celebrating his birthday, paying lavish tribute to the great composer of all time. —Page 48



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## A sensuous spectacle

Since it opened in 1981 the hit musical *Cats* has been an outstanding success in cities around the world. Last week it opened in Toronto to sell-out audiences. —Page 62



## A media giant moves south

Once cold-shouldered by the business establishment, wireless publisher Pierre Peladeau has made believers on Bay Street and is eyeing the U.S. market. —Page 39



## The best defence

It was interesting to note in Maclean's, March 4, that four articles on the cruise missile testing and related military issues were followed by an article on the alarming increase in the number of farm bankruptcies in Canada. They brought back memories of a macroeconomics course I took at university some time ago. In one economics textbook a discussion was devoted to how governments set some main priorities and policies. It fell under the heading of "Guns or Butter." Your articles clearly illustrated the stark contrast and harsh realities of the "guns or butter" dichotomy. As Canadians, we need to choose between becoming entangled in the madness of the nuclear arms race or capitalizing upon our agricultural strengths in an effort to help feed a hungry world. To me, the choice is obvious. It is time to save the family farm.

—JERRY DICK KROCH  
Windsor, Ont.

I was pleased to see Maclean's recognizing the flourishing Canadian peace movement. However, your article in the March 4 issue ("A resurgent nuclear debate," Canada's Cover) was slanted—sitting in judgment of the movement, but not of the government. Yet it is the government that has refused to act as the expressed wishes of the Canadian people to stop cruise missile testing and support a freeze. The media, rather than accepting the reasons why Canada voted against arms control at the 1982, turn disparaging eyes on these who



Brian and Nancy Ash: the family farm

have an axe to grind. The peace movement is educating more and more people about the dangers of the nuclear arms race, and soon the government will have to listen.

—JENNIFER SCHULZ  
Moncton

Regarding "An ominous Arctic shield" (Cover, March 4): thanks to you we now have a clear picture of the commitment made by the federal government regarding the new North Warning System. The American military cost estimate to rebuild this line is \$1.2 billion (U.S.). Historically, their estimates must be doubled to reach a realistic figure. This means that Canada is committed to spend at least that amount to build the line, plus half the cost of dismantling the old Panamax line (no estimate), plus 50 per cent of the operating cost of the new warning system—until a third one is built. In 1984, the United States built and assumed the entire cost of the present new line. Why, in 1985, are we agreeing to paying half? We have 1.45 million people out of work—let's use the money to help our economy get rolling.

—S.W. SMITH  
Moncton

### Clarification

In a March 13 article about the conviction of Ernst Zundel on a charge of knowingly spreading false news likely to cause racial hatred or religious intolerance, Maclean's noted that Zundel operates a Toronto publishing firm, Sunburst, a company named publishing company in Brigham, Que., has no connection with Zundel or his publications.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Brief correspondence is limited to the Editor. Writers' magazine: *Star* (March 1985), 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

## PASSAGES

**BIRD** Budapest-born violinist and orchestra conductor Eugene Ormsady, 85, who created a distinctive sound with the Philadelphia Orchestra during his 41-year tenure as its maestro, of pneumonia after a long illness, at his home in Philadelphia. An accomplished pianist by the time he was 14, Ormsady first performed as a soloist, accompanying to the United States in 1935 in search of a concert team. Broke and with no prospects, he joined the Capital Theatre Orchestra in New York as a violinist and later became the conductor. In 1938 he made his debut with the Philadelphia Symphony and in 1939 he was hired as its music director in association with Leopold Stokowski, who left the orchestra two years later after a disagreement with the board of directors. A hard worker who conducted scores from memory, Ormsady toured with his orchestra throughout the world, including China in 1972. He retired because of ill health in 1980 but remained as conductor in name, giving his last performance on Jan. 10, 1984.

**BIRD** Barbados Prime Minister Tom Adams, 52, who led the Barbados Labor Party to victory in 1976 and again in 1983, of a heart attack, at his official residence in Bridgetown, Barbados. Adams, whose father, Sir Grantley Adams, was the Caribbean island's first black government leader in 1964, played a leading role in securing U.S. military assistance in October, 1983, after the assassination of Grenada's prime minister, Maurice Bishop, which resulted in the invasion of Grenada.

**APPOINTED** Retired skier Ken Read, 38, a member of the "Crazy Canucks" team who won five World Cup races before he retired from competition in 1980 to the International Olympic Committee's Athletics Commission. Read is the first Canadian to join the nine-member advisory panel representing competitors' interests to the IOC. Other former Olympians on the panel include Soviet gold medalist Vladimir Tietiak and Romanian gymnast Nadia Comaneci.

**RECOVERING** Brazilian president-elect Tancredino Neves, 35, who was unable to attend his inauguration last week, from emergency surgery on an infected intestine, at a military hospital in the capital city of Brasilia. Neves, the first civilian president to be elected to power in Brazil in 25 years, became ill during a church service he was attending with his wife, Roselita. Vice-President José Sarney, who was sworn in at last week's inauguration ceremonies without Neves, is acting president until Neves returns to office.

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# The grooming of Canada's new tax man

By Roy MacGregor

Perrin Beatty could not possibly have known what was on the mind of Daniel Afoa on a cold day in Halifax last month. According to his wife, Julie, Beatty, 54, had never even contemplated sharing an income tax. Indeed, she said, the first time he filled out an income tax form he wanted to give back his automatic personal deduction because he said he did not deserve it. By contrast, Afoa, a 35-year-old Halifax writer, had not even filed taxes for the previous three years. He went to the district office to finally clear his record. But he hardly expected to make his confession to the minister of national revenue himself. Beatty happened to be on a goodwill tour of the Atlantic region and he took advantage of Afoa's nervous entrance to give his tax officials an on-the-spot demonstration of the remarkable changes he is attempting to make in the tax department's relations with those Canadians who have come taxless to it.

It was a meeting that also reflected the irresponsible nature of the Tories' new tax man. "Hello there," Beatty called out as he hurried over, squinted his eyes as bright as his smile. He shot an open hand at Afoa, who recoiled. Then he slapped his other hand on Afoa's shoulder, causing the young confessor to turn when "What are you going to turn when? What are you going to turn when? Look me up!" Next, at all, the new minister explained, going on to detail the changes that he has instituted at Revenue Canada. For one thing, taxpayers had to pay disputed amounts of taxes before arguing their case with the government; now they are considered innocent until proven guilty. As well, Beatty announced that he would not be charged for his voluntary disclosures. Afoa was obviously relieved.

So in the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. That national body has just released a survey claiming that the federal tax collection services currently range from "good" to "excellent." But report in sharp contrast is a comment given a year ago by John Bellis, president of the Canadian Federation of In-

dependent Business, who labelled Revenue Canada "a Frankenstein tax monster which is spreading fear and alarm throughout the country."

Since Beatty took office, the number of objections filed by disgruntled taxpayers has fallen by 20 per cent. A controversial but unofficial "quota system" which put pressure on some tax-

es for the past 17 years. Without exception, tax professionals have been false before getting through—either up, as with the case of *Marjorie Blain*, or out, as with Joe Gazy. Being the tax man is, by definition, a thankless job, one that involves collecting about \$27 billion a year from Canadians. Still, Beatty's influence in cabinet is clear from the fact



Julie, Perrin and Christopher Beatty: A Victorian work ethic and an aura of compassion

collectors to identify a fixed amount of delinquent taxes for each layer of work has disappeared. Also eliminated are the "fishing expeditions," in which Revenue Canada investigators used their wide search-and-seize powers on the basis of little more than their individual instincts. And revenue employees may soon be taking public relations training to improve customer service.

Beatty cannot take all the credit; but he can claim enough to make him a rising in the ranks of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's cabinet. A minister with few, if any, critics. "I am finding it very difficult to be the official spokesman against Perrin Beatty," said George Baker, the revenue shadow critic for the opposition Liberal party. "He does his homework. I have not asked him one single question either in the House or in committee."

Beatty is the 14th revenue minister in

that, while other Tory ministers have been ordered to trim their departments, he has been able to add almost 280 posts on to the 24,000 civil servants who deal with taxation, customs and excise.

Beatty differs from his colleagues in other ways as well. Last month, when one of the government's Challenger jets earned Energy Minister Peter Cuddy and Mulroney himself to Newfoundland to celebrate the new offshore energy deal, Beatty quietly made his way to St. John's in three separate flights on commercial airlines. There, a local party faithful greeted the more modest Beatty after informing his press secretary, Colleen Vincent. "You will have to point him out to me. I wouldn't know him from a hole in the ground."

Employment of Revenue Canada across the country are invited to adjust to finding their boss sitting on their desk and a side the names and ages of the babies

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second generation to head the Beatty Bros. of Penger, Ont., a family business that was once the largest manufacturer of kitchen appliances in the British Commonwealth. Although the family sold the firm in 1988, the ideals of the patriarch remain with the grandson.

Perrin Beatty's habit of visiting his employees reflects the practices of his grandfather during the Second World War, when Beatty Bros. temporarily manufactured munitions cases, the old man would rise at 3 am and walk through the factory, just to let his employees know that he cared. "Perrin is

really a small-town boy," said Julie, "quite literally the person who will always step and help out the total stranger." Julie, who grew up in Ottawa, has decided to chase the family's 10-month-old son, Christopher, in Penger so that the Beatty tradition will continue.

Beatty prides himself that he has the common touch and cannot, because of his background, understand that this touch can be seen's length at best. "He is a 'silver spooner,'" says a fellow Tay from more humble beginnings, "and no matter how hard they try to be like one of the regular folks, they cannot be." As

a boy, Beatty went to Toronto's Upper Canada College and then to the University of Western Ontario in London. But throughout his schooling his deeply non-assertive background, often combined with the radical mood of the 1960s. When he was 12 he hung a huge portrait of John Diefenbaker in the family's living room window. As a columnist for *Barrett's Gazette* in 1967, he defended President Richard Nixon's handling of the war in Vietnam and even praised Vice-President Spiro Agnew, later accused of tax evasion, a position that he says embarrasses him now. Even so, Beatty is more than comfortable with his right-wing ideology, so respectful of authority that he always traffic signals while crossing an empty street.

Despite his ultra-establishment ways, Beatty is a man of surprising wit and innovative ideas. One is to simplify Revenue Canada's interpretation of the Income Tax Act, which he calls "five pounds of confusion, often cast in terrible legislation." He is also open to reconsideration of a flat tax rate system to make sure the rich pay their share. And he is considering ways to outland the income tax disincentives that have greyed lower-income Canadians by offering immediate cash as a tax rebate for a 10-per-cent commission. The notion that he has like a lightbulb with Beatty is one of establishing rules to the spot booth at revenue centres with the authority to deal with small claims (probably under \$1,000) immediately.

Much of what he has no far accomplished in window dressing. More substantive measures are still just ideas, including Beatty's plan to expand the department's "pen-rules" program on confining, intrinsic tax gamblers, ostensibly to prevent violations or abuses before they occur. "There are some horrendous implications there," said the *WFO's* de Jure. "It can potentially make us a much easier to carry out." Still, Beatty may enjoy a longer honeymoon than other ministers simply because tax returns lag a full year behind. Said de Jong: "We have not been pursuing for him in the House, but if by July there are complaints that we are going to have something to say."

Thirteen years ago, when Beatty was a confident 21-year-old, he decided to run for the Wellington-Grey-Dufferin-Weston federal nomination. An elderly constituent wrote: "Beatty couldn't come to my nomination, Mr. Beatty. I'm 80 years old and I've had a Beatty pump since 1957. If you're as dependable as the pump, I think you'll be just fine." And so far, although the new cabinet is barely six months old and already showing wear, at least one part of the machine, appropriately named Beatty, has yet to miss a single stroke. ☐

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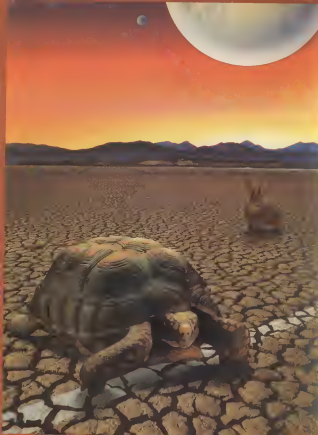


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### FOLLOW-UP

## The Quebec City hero

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

It was one of the bloodiest events in Canadian political history, and only the icy calm of a decorated 60-year-old war veteran prevented it from becoming worse. On May 8, 1984, shortly before 10 a.m., Canadian Armed Forces Cpl. Denis Lortie pulled up to the Quebec national assembly in a 1984 Black & White, took out a 6-man Browning receiver, two 8-mm submachine-guns and opened fire. In the next five minutes

bert, who has gone from being an unknown civil servant to a national hero, sometimes finds holes and scratches from the incident that the workers have missed. The memory of the trauma is also evident in security changes introduced at the 150-member assembly. Visitors' access to the main building, which was once possible through any entrance, is now restricted to one side door. There, armed guards inspect identification from visitors and every street and then other than past a metal detector.



Lortie, the Cross of Valor, a silver medal and the gratitude of colleagues

he went on a deadly rampage through the assembly hall, killing three people and wounding 15 others. Lortie eventually ended up in the Salon Bleu assembly chamber, where he sat in the dais of Speaker's chair and, as his five associates tried to duck his fire, he intermittently sprayed bullets around the room.

At that point René Jolbert, the assembly's sergeant-at-arms, approached the gunman. While hundreds of heavily armed police officers waited outside, Jolbert managed to calm the high-strung Lortie, persuaded him to put down his weapon and have a cup of coffee. Then, he convinced Lortie to agree with him to his legislative quarters below for a talk and lunch.

Two months after the bloodbath that shocked Canada, Lortie is now in the Quebec Detention Centre serving a life sentence after being found guilty of three counts of first-degree murder. Workers have patched over most of the bullet holes in the walls and scrubbed bloodstains from the carpets. But Jol-

bert, who made little attempt to hide his views, did not win him many friends among the Parti Québécois government members and their sympathizers. All that changed when he confronted Lortie with nothing but courage. On May 15 the national assembly Speaker, Richard Gigué, presented him with a special silver medal, and last November he received the Cross of Valor, Canada's highest bravery decoration. "To be frank, despite his army background, we thought he was a bit of an old woman who panicked under pressure," said one colleague. "But after someone may have saved your life you never quite look at him again the same way."

Jolbert credits his army background

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can be just peachy. Or make yourself at home in a houseboat on Shuswap Lake. As for canoeing, kayaking, river rafting and just plain splashing around you'll find more lakes, rivers and bays here than you can shake a paddle at. So c'mon. Dive into our summer. Write for our Travel Planner. Tourism British Columbia, Dept. 0907, 1117 Wharf St., Victoria, British Columbia V8W 2Z2.

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and his attention to detail for his response during the shooting incident.

"The army teaches you to deal with anything, anytime, anywhere," he told Moolan's. Indeed, Jalbert, who during his career flew helicopters, survived an airplane crash and saw active wartime combat, boasted that he was seldom nervous throughout his meeting with Lortie. "I simply had too much thinking to do to have the time for that."

Until Lortie finally surrendered at 2:55 p.m., Jalbert spotted the army's "three P's": fear, stress, friendliness and firmness. During his conversation in French with Lortie, he gradually withdrew from using the more formal vous to tu, but insisted that Lortie, a corporal, call him "major" or "sir." As well, Jalbert said that he drew heavily from lessons he had learned about dealing with disturbed persons at meetings of the Canadian Association of Berne-arts-et-Arms—a professional organization of colleagues that he founded. One key suggestion, Jalbert said, was to "always talk with calm authority, keep the conversation going even when I had to repeat myself and to make him feel that I was there to help him."

During his critical time with Lortie, Jalbert said that the only time he feared for his life was once, while Lortie was talking to police on the telephone, when he looked up and saw Lortie waving his revolver around his head. Remembered Jalbert, "I swallowed hard, and asked if he would please put the gun away, because I did not approve of him making me nervous. He respected my request."

Despite his outward calm during the tense meeting with Lortie, Jalbert was shaken by the incident. An acquaintance, CBC television reporter Ralph Muscarelli, recalls spending with him minutes after Lortie surrendered. "He called me Ralph and seemed so down-beaten as ever," said Muscarelli. But the next day Jalbert had no memory of his meeting. Told Jalbert: "Everything in the house immediately after is one great blur." When he got home that night, Jalbert was greeted by his wife, Noémie. "I swear that I must have had about eight children, a bottle of wine over dinner and five children after—and when I went to bed that night, I was as sober as I am now," he declared.

Today, Jalbert said it is difficult adjusting to the fact that late in life he has suddenly become a household name—and fast—on show here in Quebec City. Jalbert says that being in the public eye is both "rewarding and uncomfortable." He said, "It is gratifying to think that I have been given the chance to cast credit upon both my profession as a soldier and my pride in being a Canadian, but it is odd getting used to the notion of being called a hero." ☐

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## Ending a desperate dream

In the teeming Haitian capital of Port-au-Prince, a ritual is repeated with tragic regularity: groups of Haitians return after failing in attempts to illegally enter the United States. For one couple, Josine Barthe, 30, and her husband, Arnes Constantine, 25, their hope for escape ended when they walked down the gangway of the gleaming 210-foot U.S. Coast Guard cutter Diligence. Behind them came 50 other migrants—barefoot, lean and empty-handed. Four days earlier their small wooden sailboat, *Pinta*, had broken up on reefs 100 miles east of Miami. Then, the Coast Guard pulled them from the water and returned them to Haiti.

In her village of Latsape, 180 km north of Port-au-Prince, Josine is school and sheepish. "I left because I had problems—to work, to money, no land," she told Maclean's. Now her problems are compounded by what some observers, including international and agencies, claim is the danger of government repression against those who try and fail to reach the United States.

Since the early 1970s thousands have



Haitian villagers: 'no work, no land'

fled from Haiti's political repression and poverty, but average annual per capita income of \$300 (U.S.) makes it the Western Hemisphere's poorest nation. Most tried to reach the Florida coastline in dangerously overcrowded boats. Many drowned. In October, 1981, the bodies of 23 migrants washed ashore in front of CNN's headquarters in Dade County, an estimated 100 miles from Miami. But after a bill, the human flood has resumed. In the last four months of 1984 alone, more than 2,000 Boat People were intercepted by the Coast Guard—a 200-per-cent increase over 1983.

The Reagan administration supports the data-consistent regime of President-for-life Jean-Claude (Baby Doc) Duvalier, but civil liberties groups demanded safeguards for the returned Haitians. According to Amnesty International, illegal migrants caught in Haitian waters by Haitian authorities have been imprisoned and beaten.

For its part, the Haitian government denies that the would-be emigrants face punitive measures. Said Jean Guy Marin-Goss, a Haitian official who oversees the return of would-be emigrants: "Nothing will happen to them—they are not guilty. They are poor and victims of the consequences of these trips."

When they returned, Josine and Constantine were met at the port by a Canadian-speaking U.S. Embassy official who listed their names and addresses for follow-up interviews. The Haitian Red Cross gave each returning migrant \$20 and a small hamper of food and clothes. Because they are on that list, Josine and Constantine know they will not suffer reprisals. American officials say refugees known to international authorities are not harassed.

For Constantine and Josine it is punishment enough to return to the poverty that they tried to flee. They were clearly happy to see their neighbors and family members who gathered in front of their mud and thatch hut. But, said Josine, "I have nothing to do here." Neither the nor Constantine can read or write. They do not own any land.

At best, Constantine may be able to earn \$1 a day working in the rice fields. But a neighbor, Joanne Pierre: "Their parents are very poor and made a lot of expense to send them to Miami. Now it will be worse." Added Constantine: "We'll walk to the Catholic church, and I'll pray to God to give strength in my journey." Now, Josine and Constantine must use their strength to pick up the pieces of a shattered dream.

—JANEY KIRKBY with Ben Barker in Latsape, Haiti

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### COLUMN

## A prescription for the future

By Diane Cohen

On March 22 and 23, Ottawa is to host two concurrent performances. One is a concert by the pianist and harmonicist Victor Borge, a local favorite, who will be performing his special brand of "chamber" at the National Arts Centre. The other will be an economic conference. It is being billed by its organizer, Montreal labor lawyer Stanley Hart, as "a beer pot for everyone." Hart, fresh from his triumph in contributing to a strike-free resolution to the eight-month-old postal negotiations, has already declared the National Economic Conference a success.

"We consider it an achievement merely to get the people we've got to put in that room together," he said last week. The reviews of the actual event won't be in for a while, but the look and mere are worth it for all of us to follow along. Thirty issue papers have been commissioned for the conference and are already being sent to anyone who asks. They will form the basis of the two-day discussion, which is structured around the theme of employment. Only three formal speeches have been announced—one from the Prime Minister, one from the finance minister and, somewhat surprisingly, one from the prime minister of Antigua.

It's hard to say what Prime Minister Robert Mulroney will bring to the conference. Not from my perspective, it's not all that difficult to find a starting point for a discussion about future employment in Canada. Six hundred thousand jobs have been created since the low point of the recession in 1982. Yet the jobless rate has stayed more or less fixed at an official 11 to 15 per cent. Sometimes before the latest one had a pattern. Every one of them—in 1980, 1975 and 1970—began with a jobless rate higher than the one before. Indeed, during the 1970s the accepted definition of full employment changed from the textbook one of three or four per cent unemployment to a sliding scale of five, seven, eight or even 10 per cent. No one today talks so much about slipping to a three-per-cent jobless rate, let alone achieving it.

For more than 10 years now, Canadians have lived with high and rising unemployment. Not more "economic recovery" has reduced it significantly. The structure of the economy has changed sufficiently that we must go back to first principles and re-examine our assumptions about how the economy works and what economic policies are beneficial. Here are a few of those assumptions: A latent crisis will stabilize once inflation is under control. Economic recovery brings growth, growth creates jobs. A growth in Canada will follow the recovery path of the United States. A private sector job creation will result from tax breaks for business. A job-creating investment will occur since managers show more confidence. Over the past several years, especially as it relates to employment, change if we substituted different premises? For example, what might we do differently if we assumed that there were permanent structural changes in the economy? If we assumed that economic growth for some years into the future was going to be slow, uneven and would not result in more jobs? If we believed that the performance gap be-

tween Canada and the United States was likely to remain? If we accepted the notion that the dollar would probably remain soft, that interest rates would remain high and unpredictable, that consumers would continue to spend less and save more?

The answer to the painful question of who gets a job and who gets a welfare cheque in Canada rests on two assumptions. There is the one: one that unemployment is a short-term problem and that unemployment insurance will tide over a jobless person until the economic recovery sweeps him or her into a newly created position. There is a second assumption, that those who have jobs are "good citizens" and those who do not are "lazy bums."

It's becoming increasingly difficult to hold these suppositions after nearly a generation without full employment, and with more of the unemployed being drawn from among the group of young, well-educated and highly motivated Canadians. The more fundamental question with which the National Economic Conference has to deal is the new economic environment is how are we go-

***If the solutions don't work anymore, we must re-examine the assumptions we have about the economy'***

to distribute income? The conference should also address the problem of developing high-quality research in the new technologies. Achieving this at a level that will ensure Canada to keep pace with world-class competitors requires an integration of resources at a particular university or within a few companies. But fostering resources conflicts sharply with our habit of trying to distribute all the new factors, like grants as evenly across the regions as possible.

Over the past several years, educational funds have been cut back by capital-short provincial governments. Yet there is a widespread belief that one area where Canada can compete worldwide is in the area of "knowledge capital," utilizing "know-how," ranging from renewable resources to electronics and biotechnology. For Canada to be successful, however, governments must commit even more money to education.

In addition to questioning attitudes that hinder a widespread search for innovative solutions, we need to focus on the economic, cultural and political institutions that have become so rigid they limit our range of choices.

The institutions are easy to spot—schools that don't teach computer literacy, for example. But attitudes are more difficult to pin down. They may be expressed in established practice, such as automatically depositing money in a bank without demanding whether it is to be invested in a new, job-creating small business or put offshore in tax-haven jurisdictions. The conference needs to re-examine attitudes. Indeed, public pressures for deregulation and tax simplification come from people who are fed up with overeducation, rigid and often outdated rules. It's tough enough living with a tangled set of regulations when things are stable. "Get off my back" is a legitimate cry in an era when people are trying to gain a little more maneuvering room for their own personal security.

Over at the National Arts Centre, Victor Borge, who has been practicing the same routine he has done for 40 years. His audience comes back because they find his music comfortable and nourishing. By contrast, the National Economic Conference will only be successful if it reaches a consensus that revitalizing Canada will require us to step out of comfortable, predictable ways of thinking and confront some harsh realities.

Diane Cohen is a Montreal-based freelance writer.



U.S. Air Force B-52 bomber: contingency plans that would clearly compromise Canada's de facto nonnuclear stance.

## CANADA

# An 'emergency' strategy

By Marci McDonald  
and Ian Austin

When Defense Minister Erik Nielsen unveiled a \$1.5-billion cost-sharing agreement with the United States—part of a \$7-billion upgrading of the entire air (Distant Early Warning) Line Arctic radar network—he praised it as the closest last week as a tribute to the two countries' mutual security as "sovereign allies, independent neighbors and close friends." But for the second time in three months a U.S. defense analyst has revealed secret plans that suggest Ottawa may have less sovereignty and independence over its role in U.S. nuclear strategy than the Canadian public knows. According to a new book by William Arkin, director of the Arms Race and Nuclear Weapons Research Project at Washington's private Institute for Policy Studies, the U.S. Strategic Air Command (SAC) has issued at least one manual that directs some of its nuclear-armed B-52 bombers to disperse to Canadian airfields during a crisis.

Each of these giant bombers—typically equipped with as many as six

nuclear bombs and up to 30 short-range attack missiles (SSA-16)—can carry more than 700 times the destructive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. Together with intercontinental ballistic missiles and Trident submarine-launched, the B-52s make up the heart of the U.S. strategic nuclear strike force, aimed at war-fighting targets in the Soviet Union. In an interview related to a book entitled *Nuclear Bombs: Bombs and Bombs* by Richard W. Fieldhouse, to be published by Ballinger Books later this spring, Arkin contends that the Canadian government is unaware of the B-52 dispersal plan, which contravenes Ottawa's nonnuclear stance. Moreover, he said that no formal agreement exists for such arrangements. Retired Admiral Robert Potts, chief of the Canadian defense staff between 1977 and 1988, told *McGill's* last week that during his term "I wasn't aware of any such plan. If that were the case, again it's an open question."

While a Canadian defense department spokesman declined to dispute "any contingency plan," a Canadian diplomat in Washington told *McGill's* that nothing is Arkin's disclosure is unknown to the Canadian government.

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark insisted later in the House of Commons that nuclear weapons cannot be stationed on Canadian soil without Ottawa's agreement and would not be permitted—unless it was "in the Canadian interest." But Prime Minister Brian Mulroney acknowledged in the House, while not referring to B-52s being, that some neighborly arrangements infringe on Canadian autonomy. His government, he said, inherited agreements "without the necessary provisions for Canadian sovereignty"—a situation that "we are trying to correct." Mulroney cited an agreement "between Canadian cabinet officials had to seek American permission to go to the Canadian North." A defense department spokesman, Capt. Ian Thomson, told *McGill's* that Mulroney was referring to a long-established requirement for clearance to visit new laser sites, which are controlled by the U.S. Air Force. Said Arkin: "Canadian clearly don't have access to our war plans. The Canadian government clearly doesn't know what we have up our sleeve. It's another aspect of the way Canada is a nuclear ally of the United States."

Arkin, a 38-year-old former U.S.

Army intelligence analyst in Berlin, was the first to disclose that American contingency plans exist to deploy nuclear antissubmarine depth bombs in Canada and other countries during a war scare. In the ensuing controversy, then-defense minister Robert Coates declared that the only treaty on nuclear weapons existing between the two countries provided for the safe passage of SAC bombers through Canadian airspace. But that statement, plus the Security Control of Air Traffic and Navigation Act, signed on Jan. 1, 1972, does not provide for SAC's bombers to land in Canada. However, in the course of researching his book on nuclear logistics around the world, Arkin acquired an operational alert manual for the 19th Air Force, headquartered at Castle Air Force Base in California.

According to that Alert Planning Factors and Procedures manual, provisions exist for the base's 14 B-52 bombers and 38 air-launched cruise missiles to avoid becoming airborne by dispersing to airfields in a time of alert—one of them being the Canadian Forces Base in Cold Lake, Alta. Arkin managed to obtain only one other set of war plans issued before the U.S. Air Force changed down, and its dispersal plan did not include a Canadian base. Still, Arkin speculated that among SAC's 19 bases across the United States, others probably also have dispersal plans involving Canadian airfields. Those could include landing strips at the Canadian Forces Base in Nunavut, 10 km outside Repulse, and in Goose Bay, Lab. David Condon, director of research at the Canadian Institute for International

Peace and Security "What it means is that Early Canadian airfields for dispersal would be targeted by the Soviet Union. It confirms that we are a single target area with the United States."

Arkin pointed out that the U.S. plan disclosed earlier involved the deployment of the un-manned nuclear depth charges only in the event of a war scare, but the B-52 alert procedures provide for dispersal "in the face of increasing enemy threat or heightened international tensions." Added Arkin: "It appears there is more latitude here." Indeed, SAC bomber squadrons scattered to U.S. civil airfields during the 1968 Cuban missile crisis. Arkin argues that the B-52 plans are potentially more important than the deployment of nuclear depth charges. "Increasing the vulnerability of a strategic bomber wing during an attack is a whole different action than the mobilization of naval patrol forces," he said. "This is a whole other ball game."

But Potts disagreed. He said that the SAC manuals are merely Pentagon directives, while the contingency plans for depth charges came under presidential authority. "It's still supposed to make those plans without consulting us," Potts said. "But it's probably not as serious because it seems to be at a much lower level than presidential authority." U.S. government officials told Arkin that because a B-52's nuclear payload is kept separate from the bomber—and not stored on the territory of a foreign nation—that would technically prevent the need for presidential approval.

In fact, Arkin contends that the B-52 alert plan is even more disturbing in its implications. "It means things are going on with regard to Canada that the President doesn't even know about," he argued. "It demonstrates how much all this nuclear planning is not sufficiently overseen by anyone." Arkin's contention appeared to be borne out last week in confusion over the depth-bomb plans. Although Washington recently assured Canada and other countries designated as "friendly" that no nuclear warhead dispersal permission would be sought, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Bart said in London last week that the contin-

gency weapons-bearing planes were drawn up "by authorized personnel" and "were never approved by the U.S. President." However, the copy of the Nuclear Weapons Deployment Plan obtained by Arkin, dated Oct. 8, 1974, begins with the words "The President has approved" and is signed by Henry Kissinger, then President Gerald Ford's national security adviser.

In *Nuclear Bombs* the authors describe additional rules that Canada is playing in U.S. nuclear strategy which have escaped public attention. According to Arkin—and the U.S. Army public affairs officer who provided him with the U.S. Army conducted cold-war tests of an ex-355 150-missile enhanced radiation shell at a northern Canadian Forces base between October, 1962, and October, 1965. As in recent times, missile tests over Canada said the shell was unarmed, but its purpose in wartime would be to launch nuclear bombs from artillery guns. Arkin disclosed that the U.S. Navy has tested nuclear mine and 300-ton antinuclear rockets—rocket-propelled nuclear depth charges—at the joint U.S.-Canadian Vancouver Underwater Tracking Range north of Vancouver Island.

Now, under a five-year Canada-U.S. Test and Evaluation Agreement signed on Feb. 10, 1983—under which Ottawa committed to American testing of interest cruise missiles over Canadian waters—agreements with a wide variety of nuclear-related weapons systems can be negotiated in Canadian soil if they are "examined and approved by the Canadian government." "People don't even know what a billion other things are going on. Each of these examples demonstrates a whole range of activities which has in the face of a nonnuclear policy in Canada."

According to Arkin, his aim in disclosing the secret agreements "is to expose American policy because it takes our allies for granted. It was money as more important than democracy. My concern is not with Canada but with the United States. This is a nuclear infrastructure that has been built under control." As he observes, the only way nations can consent to an effective defense policy is if they know about it. □



Arkin, a new ball game



Canadian troops: new forces for Europe and a \$1.5-billion northern defence system

## Fast moves in defence

By Hilary Mackenzie

It is the style of the bomber pilot that he once was, Defence Minister Erik Nielsen has moved rapidly to assert his presence, and a new sense of direction, in the portfolio he took over just three weeks ago. Last week Nielsen caught the opposition off guard by announcing two major decisions to strengthen Canada's defence posture — by designating an additional 1,200 troops for service in Europe and by tabling in Parliament an outline of the \$1.5-billion U.S.-Canadian plan to overhaul Arctic radar defence.

The announcements triggered heated debate in Parliament, with opposition MPs charging that Canada's role as the North Warning System could eventually lead to involvement in Washington's space-based "Star Wars" defence system and its potential for spurring the arms race. Moreover, critics argued that the two announcements of major defence initiatives made a mockery of the government's protracted review of military policy. Noted New Democratic Party House Leader Ian Dewar: "You can't make a complete decision on the overall plan of how to make a whole series of ad hoc decisions along the way."

Nielsen, who won the distinguished flying cross as a bomber pilot over Europe during the Second World War, said that starting this summer the additional troops would join 5,000 personnel already serving with the 4th Canadian Mechanized Brigade Group based in

Lahn, West Germany. The move will cost \$50 million in the first year and \$100 million a year by the time the entire contingent is in place in 1988. Nielsen also announced that is the future a Canadian-based infantry battalion would be committed to the multinational Allied Command Europe Mobile Force, which is intended to reinforce Europe during a crisis. These moves, declared Nielsen, were "a first early step toward meeting our commitments in Europe to our allies."

Later Nielsen had an announcement to make of more far-reaching implications. Even though the details of the proposed U.S.-Canadian North Warning System (NWS) had already been made public (Maclean's, March 4), a summary tabled by Nielsen in the Commons gave Mrs. Nielsen their first official confirmation of the defence agreement that was to be signed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan during their Quebec City summit this week. Designed to detect enemy air penetration, the NWS — an up-dated version of the current 1974 (Distant Early Warning) Line — is intended to protect the Arctic perimeter of North America through a network of 52 ground

radar stations strung across northern Alaska, the Canadian Arctic and northern Labrador. (The change of name for the Arctic radar system was adopted in Washington, and a Canadian official, because the Pentagon found that it was easier to promote the budget for the renovation project to a presidential and acerbic-minded U.S. Congress if it dropped the word "Gleason" from the radar network's name.) In the Commons, Nielsen declared that because the Canadian section of the system would be built and operated by Canadians, it would give Canada full sovereignty over its territory and airspace for the first time since the 18th Line was built in the 1850s.

But opposition critics declared that that might not be true and that construction of the NWS might ultimately involve Canada in the proposed U.S. Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars) and pave the way for the location of ballistic missiles on Canadian soil. NDP Leader Ed Broadbent noted that while U.S. and Canadian officials insisted the NWS is intended only to track aircraft and cruise missiles, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Bert admitted in a news briefing that the system would also provide early warning of incoming ballistic missiles — a role that could link the system to the Star Wars project. Although Bert later backtracked, saying he had made a mistake, Broadbent stated that American officials were saying that "there is a linkage between the two."

In the meantime, opposition MPs wondered about the government's protracted

defence policy review. A green paper outlining policy options was originally due early in the year but now has been delayed Nielsen was tense and enigmatic last week when reporters asked him about the timing — and the purpose — of the green paper. "I would hope that nothing I do would be useless," said the defence minister. "And it will come out when I am ready to bring it out."

With Karen Macdonald in Ottawa.

Nielsen first steps



## Terror in the capital

By Michael Chagston

The final dawn of Claude Brasseur's life broke grey but with the promise of spring's heavy rain, but not snow. Still on his guard post at the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa, the Parliament rose, the end of a solitary 12-hour shift, may have waned to the RCMP cruiser that passed the embassy's front gate shortly before 7 a.m. during a routine patrol. As a further defence against attack, the embassy has the protection of a 15-foot iron padlock fence.

Isolated by brick, glass-enclosed television, an electronically operated gate and a double door of oak and steel. But only minutes after the Montreal police left, a trio of Armenian nationalists last week snatched and easily overcame these precautions. The existing four-hour embassy duty by three self-proclaimed members of the Armenian Revolutionary Army left Brasseur dead and Turkish Ambassador Cukun Kires seriously injured.

The spasm of violence raised questions about the level of protection provided for sensitive embassies in Ottawa — and about whether federal security services reacted quickly enough to warnings of an impending attack. The episode was the third attack on Turkish grounds in Ottawa. In 1982 Commercial Counselor Kani Ganger was shot in an apartment garage and paralyzed in an attack claimed by the Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia. Then, military attaché Acilia Altink was shot to death in a car — the only slaying of a diplomat in Ottawa — by one claiming to belong to another of the various terrorist groups, the Justice Canada Against Armenian Genocide.

Last week's attack led to an immediate investigation to determine whether Ottawa's eight-month-old Canadian Security Intelligence Service (CSIS) had been fully aware of supposed activities by Armenian terrorists. The attack on the embassy also pro-

vided an angry reaction in Turkey. Politicians in Ankara declared Ottawa to be one of the three most dangerous cities in the world for Turkish diplomats, along with Vienna and Paris. In Ottawa, Deputy Prime Minister Irvin Nelson acknowledged in Parliament that there was a "gap" in security arrangements at the embassy but he insisted that, in response to an RCMP report last month, security at the embassy was tightened — to the satisfaction of the Turks. Still, he refused to indicate what extra



Taking terrorist into custody: a gap in the embassy security screen

measures that he might have been wrong, and that Turkish authorities may have asked for increased embassy security in late February or early March. In Washington sources close to the U.S. intelligence community told Macdonald that, indeed, the Internal Security Agency, had issued "constant" warnings in recent weeks to Western governments that Armenians were preparing to attack a Turkish Embassy somewhere in the world.

The embassy issue, which ended in the arrest of two Montrealers and a Toronto-area man, all of Armenian origin, also pointed to differences between the level of protection accorded embassies

in Ottawa and Washington. While high-risk embassies, such as the Soviet and Middle Eastern ones, are kept under general surveillance by the Ottawa city police and the RCMP, only a single Protective officer — hired by the Maxima — is located on the grounds in Washington. High-risk embassies are watched over by municipal police and by uniformed and plainclothes U.S. Secret Service officers. The Canadian Embassy and residence in that city have been guarded by the uniformed branch of the Secret Service for three years — after Armenian terrorist threats and the attempted 1982 bombing of an Air Canada plane shortly in Los Angeles — apparently because of the arrest of Armenian suspects in Canada.

The Turkish Embassy in Washington, where armed police are always visible outside, is widely believed to be guarded inside by a pair of highly trained Secret Service agents armed with flame-throwers and submachine-guns. Declared Bryan Castiglia, a spokesman for Ottawa's Turkish community of about 500 people: "Ottawa is the only capital that has been hit three times. This is tragic, and it shows a major weakness and a very relaxed security."

Armenian nationalists, bent on avenging Turkish massacres of Armenians more than half a century ago, are generally considered among the most violent in the world — and Brasseur, equipped with a sub-machine gun and five bullets, stood little chance. The



assault began when a twelve U-Haul rental van was backed up to the embassy wall. As the driver strove to control the van, the truck's rear end struck the wall, breasting it and forcing its way into the Canadian High Commission office, trapping a police officer who was alone. But they, the 31-year-old native of Antigonish, N.S., who had received about 30 hours of training for his job of seven years, ignored the rules for such a situation, stepped out of his bullet-proof hat and fired four shots at the van, who were armed with shotguns and large-calibre pistols. Brownlie's shots missed, but he was struck in the chest by two bullets and fell, mortally wounded.

Moving to the front of the Tudor-style embassy building, the attackers used a heavy explosive charge to blast away the front door. At the opposite side of the house Kires realized what was happening and jumped from a second-storey window, breaking up his right arm, leg and pelvis as he struck the ground. As police began arriving on the scene three minutes later, Const. Michael Prud'homme of the Ottawa police force sealed the embassy fence and pulled Kires under the eaves of the house, out of the line of fire.

As about 100 police officers from the RCMP and Ottawa police forces arrived on the scene, one of the terrorists appeared in a front window of the embassy, holding a pistol to the head of one of the 11 hostages, who included embassy employees as well as Kirova's wife, Rima, and his teenage daughter. Rima first threw a pot of boiling water at the terrorist, then the terrorist slapped her. The Canadian Press news service in Ottawa to announce the seizure, while other journalists made contact simply by telephoning the embassy "We are the Armenian Liberation army, and we got demands," an anonymous terrorist told a CBC Radio reporter. "We want our land back and we want the Turkish government to release the Armenian people," it said.

In the meantime, Staff Insp. Wilfred Longchamps, a 36-year-old veteran of the Ottawa police force, had taken command of the heavy siege. Longchamps' SWAT (Special Weapons and Tactical) team took up positions around the embassy wall while two specially trained hostage negotiators, Staff Sgt. Stephen Nadeau and Const. Angelo Piere, negotiated with the terrorists through loud-speakers. They appeared to be very confident and, as until the end, they were. But the situation was not as straightforward as it seemed. Nevertheless, said Longchamps, "We didn't promise them anything except that they wouldn't be harmed if they came out and released the hostages."

But four hours after they had stormed the embassy, the terrorists' determina-

ties apparently crumbled. At 11 a.m. Flann's voice crumbled out of the walls: tactics carried by the swim team members. "They said they're coming out. Don't fire. Nobody fire." The terrorists emerged, and by 11:19 a.m. were lying face down with their hands raised behind their backs. The next day is an Ottawa courtroom, Kravitz, Marchese, 35, and O'Hanrahan, 30—both of Montreal and both believed to be Syrian-born Canadians—and Rafi Pnuel Titelman, 29, a landed immigrant from Lebanon who lives in Scarborough, Ont., were charged with first-degree

(that invaded Turkey in 1915, a 1973 report of a United Nations commission on human rights called the Armenian massacre the first genocide of the 20th century. Armenians—whose historic lands are now divided between Turkey and the Soviet Union—have sought an apology from successive Turkish governments, while various Armenian terrorist groups that have emerged over the past decade have demanded the liberation of about 57,000 square miles of Armenian Turkey.

In the wake of last week's violence, members of Canada's 40,000-member



The ambassador's daughter is the real star, wearing a white gown

murder in the killing of Brunella. The charge carries a maximum sentence of life in prison with no parole for 25 years.

Felice investigators have still not determined whether the embassy takeover was the work of professional terrorists or anxious nationalists. But it was clear that the violence reflected still-lingering fury over the more than one million Armenians who are believed to have died at Turkish hands during the 1920s, and later during the First World War. While the Turkish government admits

only that about 300,000 Armenians died when they sided with the Russian troops.

Armenian community were torn between feelings of pride and fear that the terrorist action would bring Armenians into disfavor with other Canadians. "It is hard to say I support such a thing," said Khatchig Hagoopian, president of the Montreal-based Armenian National Committee of Canada. "I favor a peaceful resolution, but this results from frustration at so many years going by without any change."

With Terry Matthews, Ken MacQueen and Michael Asor in Ottawa. Mary Jensen in Toronto and William Lowther in Washington.

## Seeking a Tory sweep

**W**hen Newfoundland Premier Brian Peckford signed the Atlantic Accord with Ottawa last month, sharing the control and development of offshore oil reserves, many politicians on the island predicted that a provincial election was not far off. Peckford had called a snap election in 1982, less than three years into his Conservative government's first term in office. And in 1985, when the federal Conservative Liberal party gave him an added reason for moving swiftly. Then, last week, less than three years into his current five-year mandate, Peckford announced that Newfoundlanders would be going to the polls on April 2. According to Peckford, a victory would provide him with "a mandate to create jobs" and make the offshore deal with Ottawa "real and accountable for our society."

Pettkin is clearly counting on the goodwill created by the offshore agreement, but Liberal leader Ian Barry and Peter Pettkin, leader of the opposition New Democratic Party and the sole NDP member in the legislature, were expected to challenge the terms of the arrangement and focus on the province's 21 percent unemployment rate. Barry questions whether the offshore accord will provide many jobs for Newfoundlanders, and he has been criticized that some of the estimated one billion barrels of offshore oil will be tapped under the Grand Banks will be processed in Newfoundland, because mainland refineries have already been guaranteed all the future output.

Still, Sir John A. Borden, Conservative who once served as energy minister to Peckford's cabinet—faced serious problems of his own. Last month two of his cabinet ministers had been ousted, defeated in the Tories, leaving only six Liberals to face 44 Conservatives in the 50-seat House of Assembly last week. Two former Liberal party leaders—Edward Roberts and Stephen Rowe—insisted that they would not run for the Tories. The Conservative party leader, William Egan, declared that he would not, but as a Conservative. Fenwick's hold proved to capitulate on repressive labor legislation passed by the Peckford government in an attempt to curb the union's power. Fenwick's own resignation was for a Tory sweep. Peckford's claim that he needs a new mandate to "cut into total garbage," declared the NDP leader. "He called the election because the polls tell him he's

—RASHIDUWA JORDAN on St. John's



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## A repackaging of restraint

**F**or the past three years, Premier Wilfrid Bennett's single-minded campaign to reduce government spending has infuriated British Columbia's business community. The province's farmers, ranchers, fishermen and civil servants while, in the view of many economists, doing little to help the province's stagnating economy. Last week Finance Minister Hugh Clifford deputed authority from the cabinet to

*The lines at food banks and soup kitchens are not only depressingly long, they also include more and more families*

*The lines at food banks and soup kitchens are not only depressingly long, they also include more and more families*

cent raise already scheduled for April 1. What it all meant, charged the leader Robert Skelly, was that the Reagan government is "clearly transferring the tax burden from corporations to individuals."

By any measure, British Columbia's economy needs a substantial boost. As a result of slumping world demand, tax revenues from the province's once-wealthy mining and forestry industries

declined to \$483 million last year from \$1.2 billion in 1979-80. At the end of 1984, 18 per cent of the province's work force was unemployed, a situation that Curtis acknowledged to be a "major problem." Battered bankruptcies last year totalled 1,477—an increase of nearly 300 per cent since 1981. And the lines at food banks and soup kitchens are not only depressingly long but are peopled more and more by families.

Although Carlin's budget was primarily aimed at stimulating small businesses through tax breaks, the government gave no estimate of how many jobs such measures might create. The budget also offered few incentives for the province's depressed resource industries. Ted Enemark, president of the Manitoba Manufacturers' Association, said that the budget would not result in the reopening of any of 15 recently closed mines. "This is not what I expected," said Enemark. In the meantime, with little prospect of an early improvement in the province's economic fortunes, Benson was presumably biding his time and construction of Vancouver's new \$264-million rapid transit line to carry his government through the next election, which could come as early as next

—ANDREW NIKIFORUK, with Anne O'Mara  
and Mark Douglas in Vancouver



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# A truce collapses in flames

**B**y nightfall the towns and cities of western Iraq were empty, as residents fled Iraqi missiles and artillery shells. Across the border in Basra, Iraq's second-largest city, residents scrambled into home-made bomb shelters as air-raid sirens wailed. "People are worried," said an anxious Iranian banker in Abadan. "If they have the means

when Iraq jets attacked a steel plant in Abadan. In response, Iranian artillery blasted Basra. Iraq turned its superior air force on south-western Iranian cities and oil refineries in Tehran and fired air-launched missiles into Tehran. It itself—the first attack on Iraq's capital since Iraq began the war in September, 1980. Iraq then fired ground-launched missiles into the Iraqi capital, destroy-

ing the Iranian attack came—the first in 18 months—the Iraqis claimed to have repulsed the invasion. But Tehran, insisting that its full offensive had not begun, later said its troops would not be lured into an Iraqi trap. As fighting in the marshes continued, Iraq charged that Iraq had fired artillery shells containing chemicals. Iraqi officials refused comment, but last year UN-appointed



Survivors of an Iraqi bombing raid in the Iranian city of Susangird: a dramatic increase in the civilian casualty toll

er to get out, they go. Only those who cannot afford to stay behind."

Tedious, the casualty toll in the bitter Persian Gulf War rose dramatically last week. In addition to assaults on border cities, there were missile raids on the capital cities of Tehran and Baghdad, an Iranian ground offensive in the Elamshah marshes east of the Tigris River and new charges of chemical warfare. Iraqi dignitaries said "thousands of Iranian captives" littered the battlefields. Iran claimed some 300 enemy soldiers killed, but said that more than 1,000 of its own citizens had died from Iraq's bombardments. Declined a comment on the U.S. State Department who presides over the United Nations General Assembly, during a mission to the Gulf state of Bahrain. "It's not only casualties and I can't see hope."

The latest fighting began March 4,

ing the high-rise headquarters of the Revolution Guard in downtown Baghdad.

The fighting also destroyed a United Nations-sponsored agreement of June, 1984, that ruled out assaults on civilian targets, despite efforts last week by UN Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar to revive the pact. Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz requested talks to review "clear rules for banning shelling of purely residential areas." Iraq's parliament speaker, Hajjattollah Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, expressed regret about civilian victims but warned, "If international bodies are not capable of stopping Iraq, Iraq will not leave the attacks unavenged."

Indeed, there was speculation last week that Iraq's raids were designed to provoke Iran into launching a ground offensive against its reinforced defenses at the head of the Persian Gulf. Where

experts found that Iranian soldiers had suffered the symptoms of mustard and nerve gas exposure.

By week's end, diplomats held out little hope for a truce, and even that would not resolve the larger issue of ending the war. Although Iraq has frequently signalled interest in ending the conflict, Iran is adamant that a settlement must include the removal of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein—an unacceptable condition for Baghdad. Some observers have suggested that the UN's official Gulf War mediator, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme, might undertake a new peace mission. But, given current hard lines, the chance of success seems remote. "You have to prepare the groundwork," conceded one high-level UN official recently. "You can't ask Palme to jump into a fry hole."

—JAMES MITCHELL





Israeli soldiers return from patrol, relentless attacks by Muslim guerrillas

LEBANON

## Blood on an iron fist

When Israeli forces invaded southern Lebanon in June 1982, the area's Shiite Muslims threw flowers and greeted them as liberators. Thirty-three months later that gratitude has turned to hatred as Shiite guerrillas harass the occupying army relentlessly. In the month since Israel began its three-stage withdrawal from Lebanon, the guerrillas have mounted as many as a dozen attacks a day on the Israeli Defence Forces (IDF). In response, Israel has adopted an "iron fist" policy of punitive raids and strict security measures—but the violence has only escalated.

Last week the vicious cycle of attack and retaliation raised new questions about the future of South Lebanon and stirred new debate in Israel about the wisdom of the war that sought originally to purge its northern neighbor of encroaching Palestinian guerrillas. Avenging a March 8 car bomb attack on Beirut that killed 80 Maronites, a suicide bomber drove a jeep truck packed with explosives into an Israeli army camp near the border town of Minatit. Twelve soldiers were killed and another 14 wounded. Just 12 hours later the car struck back, storming across its defence line into the village of Zrinyeh. The result: 46 dead, 37 wounded, 300 arrested and 11 dynamited houses in a search for terrorists and weapons. Reporters who entered the town later found the streets filled with corpses, burning vehicles and weeping women.

There were more clashes—and more

victims—later in the week, as the United States urged a United Nations Security Council resolution condemning Israeli operations in South Lebanon. In Israeli government circles demands accelerated the withdrawal from Lebanon, originally scheduled for completion by September. But while Prime Minister Shimon Peres contended that Israel had "underestimated the problem of Shiite terrorism," he insisted that, in the face of socialist fanatics, "we won't be stampeded and we won't bolt." Among other reasons, military strategists argue that a sudden acceleration of the pull-back might be misread by Syria as a signal of Israeli weakness. One possible solution: a hastened withdrawal to the international border in the north immediately after the more-templated retreat from Lebanon's eastern Bekaa Valley. Whatever the decision, the Israeli fist policy remains. IDF Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin said: "If this trend continues, we shall have to respond with great force, using all the means at our disposal."

For many Israelis, the greatest fear is that radical Shiite forces will dominate the country's northern borders even after the withdrawal. In less than three years South Lebanon has become a breeding ground for militant Islamic fundamentalists, full of revolutionary zeal. If the trend continues, the north will harbor an enemy even more determined than the Palestinians, and Israeli will have to engage the once-proud fist leader as another front in the next war. —DAVID BEN-GURION in Jerusalem.

FRANCE

## A victory for the right

The ballot itself confirmed the hopes of largely unknown rural politicians. But when some 12 million French citizens voted last week in its counties, France's county elections, the results were scrutinized with an intensity usually reserved for major political contests. Observers regard the vote as a crucial barometer of political opinion—of how the nation will swing during the 1986 national assembly elections. The verdict last week confirmed two trends: the decline of the ruling Socialists and the rise of the right.

Indeed, when ballots were counted in the first of the two-stage elections, the Socialists and the allied Left Radical Movement emerged with only 27 per cent, a five-point drop in popularity since 1983. By contrast, the two leading conservative parties emerged with 30 per cent, and the ultra-right-wing National Front, led by former paratrooper Jean-Marie Le Pen, took 8.7 per cent—enough, and the Paris daily *Le Monde*, to make him "an integral part of France's political landscape."

Disappointed but not shaken, Socialist Party Secretary-General Lionel Jospin termed the setback a "warning"—implicitly conceding that French President François Mitterrand's policies have upset many voters. Party stalwarts said that the Socialists still occupied the middle-most powerful force in the country and that the right remained divided over whether to co-operate with the controversial Le Pen—by withdrawing conservative candidates from second-round runoff votes March 17—or to fight him, thereby splitting the right-wing vote and possibly letting the Socialists win.

The National Front, which campaigned as an anti-immigration platform, scored heavily among urban voters forced to compete for jobs, and boasting with Arab and black African minorities who came to France from its former colonies during the 1960s. With an unemployment rate of 10.2 per cent, many of those immigrants are on welfare, and resentment from white Frenchmen is rising. In fact, in southern France, where social tension is acute, the National Front won between 25 and 30 per cent of the vote. Few observers see Le Pen becoming a dominant force in French politics. But his strong showing and the solid performance of moderate conservatives—suggests that the warning issued by voters last week to the Socialists cannot afford to ignore.

—ANNE TREIBEL in Paris.



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# A rapid change in Moscow

By Hal Quinn

**A** light, powdery snow had fallen overnight, laying a fresh veneer on the streets of Moscow. The funeral service, from the ornate Hall of Columns, where the leader lay in state, to Red Square, where he would be buried, had been carefully rehearsed. Along the route, an array of soldiers and security agents stood motionless to ensure that the solemn proceedings—the third such ceremony in 35 months—went off with clockwork precision. But last week, as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics buried Konstantin Ustinovich Chernenko, the rites of passage were marked by an unprecedented event: a transition of power, planned in advance and executed with record speed. Indeed, even before thousands of KGB-selected mourners had paid their final respects to the self-selected megalomaniac had paid their final respects to the smooth leader of the all-powerful Soviet Communist party, the smooth had already taken control.

Only four hours and 15 minutes after a black-attired state television newscaster made the official announcement of Chernenko's death on Monday afternoon, the cautious conservatism that haunted the Soviet Union for the past decade produced Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, 54, as the party's new general secretary and the nation's new leader. Like the dawning of snow, the swift succession of the youngest Soviet leader since Josef Stalin (who succeeded Vladimir Lenin at the same age in 1929) gave a bright new face to a troubled nation and an anxious world. But below the surface, his countrymen and the world could only speculate on what, if anything, had really changed.

For months, while Chernenko hovered vicariously near death, experts debated whether Gorbachev, a relative newcomer to the Kremlin's inner councils, had the political muscle to overcome potential rivals for the succession. Among them: Politburo member Gregory Yavlinsky, 62, and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, 75. But the stunning pace at which Gorbachev moved confirmed that the succession had long been settled. Waiting little time as mourning, Gorbachev quickly followed the formal announcement of Chernenko's death by assuring the United States that the Geneva arms talks would proceed as scheduled on Tuesday—an early indication that the new leader was in command.

**I**n fact, Gorbachev's transparent eagerness to get on with the business of governing made for an almost uneasy haste in the rituals of mourning. Unlike the long official seasonal periods accorded Chernenko's predecessors—Leonid Brezhnev in 1962 and Yuri Andropov in 1984—the machinery of power barely paused over his passing. On the contrary, it often seemed last week that Chernenko's death was only the convenient backdrop to a more important event—the birth of a new Soviet era, ushered in by a man both powerful and youthful enough to undertake, if he chooses, major reforms of the Soviet system.

The formalities needed, the self-assured Gorbachev used the occasion to greet and exchange views with more than two dozen world leaders. Fifteen minutes after the funeral a procession led by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and Chinese Vice Premier Li Peng entered the majestic, white-marbled St. George's Hall, a 60-in-long reception salon built by the czars. Those brief, gap-saturated sessions set the stage for the real business of the week: a subsequent set of bilateral



talks with visiting delegations, including those led by Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, U.S. Vice-President George Bush, United Nations Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuellar, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and leaders from every Soviet ally except for Cuban President Fidel Castro, who sent his brother, Raúl, sending a heavy workload. It was, in effect, an impromptu, but well-orchestrated world affair of state. And the crisp signal beamed from the Kremlin was unmistakable: the long struggle of infirmity and indecision had finally ended. Declared West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl: "In a word, there is a man sitting there now as general secretary who knows it and who expressed his opinion with a sovereignty and a notable sense of material."

**T**he first hints of Chernenko's death came to the West last Sunday evening: the recall of Soviet delegations and leaders on foreign visits. Early the next day in Moscow, classical music played on radio stations that normally offer jazz or light entertainment, and state television ran reports of military programs. At the Communist party's Central Committee building, usually dark in the early morning hours, the lights were burning—just as they were before the death of Leonid Brezhnev and Yuri Andropov had been announced. The 79-year-old Chernenko, seen in public only twice since

last Dec. 37, had long suffered from emphysema and heart and liver ailments.

The funeral itself seemed as perfunctory as his reign. At precisely 1 p.m. on Wednesday, March 13, the cortège reached Red Square. At 3:45 factory horns sounded and an artillery salute honored Chernenko's widow, Anna, closed his coffin. Then, as Gorbachev and other Politburo members watched from atop Lenin's tomb, military pallbearers slid the coffin

Turning briefly to foreign affairs, Gorbachev reaffirmed the principles of good-neighborly and peaceful co-existence. At the same time, however, he warned potential adversaries that "no one will be able to impose us upon us." Then, beginning his read of direct talks, Gorbachev impressed his foreign visitors with his breadth of knowledge, his willingness to listen and—in marked contrast to Soviet leaders of the past—a refusal to indulge in polemics. Instead

of reading rehearsed pontifical papers on various issues, Gorbachev talked extemporaneously and at length on subjects across a broad spectrum. And, ignoring prearranged timetables, he allowed discussions with Bush, Mulroney and others to continue well past their appointed end.

But his ready smile and easy manner did not disguise a hard line on issues that challenged Soviet interests. During a meeting with Yasuhiro Nakasone, Gorbachev pointedly told the Japanese prime minister that Moscow had no intention of renouncing its claim to four disputed islands northeast of Japan, which the Soviets annexed after the Second World War. "You know the status of the Soviet Union on this problem," said Gorbachev bluntly. "Our position is not to be changed." And he sternly warned Pakistan's president, Gen. Zia-ul-Haq, against harboring guerrillas fighting Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Both Nakasone and Zia shared an opinion voiced by French President François Mitterrand, who said, "It would be a mistake to say that the advent of a new leader could bring about profound changes in the policies of the Soviet Union."

**B**ut Gorbachev did express a clear determination to get the Soviet Union's often rocky relationship with China on a more stable footing, telling Li Peng that continuing talks between deputy foreign ministers should be raised to a "higher level." He also accepted invitations to travel to Paris and Bonn to follow up his visit to Beijing last December. But there was no Kremlin discussion on whether or not to accept President Ronald Reagan's offer—contained in a personal letter delivered by Bush—to hold a summit in the United States at a mutually convenient time. But Bush, offering from his 80-minute late-night Kremlin discussion with Gorbachev, said "high on hope" and with a "comfortable feeling" about the possibility of a summit between the two leaders.

Despite Bush's optimism, a Reagan-Gorbachev encounter is unlikely to occur soon. In Washington, as in Moscow, there is agreement that any meeting between the two leaders must not become simply an exercise in public relations. At the moment, the two sides are close to few substantive accords that would justify a summit. Still, both at home and abroad, Mikhail Gorbachev's dramatic ascent seemed to transform the climate of international relations. At long last, a younger, more energetic generation of leaders was emerging in Moscow, offering both new risks and new opportunities. As West European diplomat observed: "The general secretary is dead, long live the general secretary."

Carrying Chernenko to his Kremlin tomb, and (below) Gorbachev, new generation

into its place of honor at the base of the Kremlin wall. The Soviet national anthem signaled the end to the ceremony at exactly 3 p.m., and the myriad, black-framed photographs of Chernenko were quickly put away. Still one Narbonne. "That's the last we'll see of his portrait."

In sharp contrast to Chernenko's laconic speech at Andropov's funeral 15 months ago, Gorbachev delivered the five-minute eulogy in a strong, clear voice. And with only glancing tribute to Chernenko's achievements, Gorbachev and the nationally televised address to outline the direction his own regime will take. His first priority: the scientific-boost economy. Bold Gorbachev: "We are to achieve a decisive turn in transferring the national economy to the tracks of intensive development. We are bound to attain within the period the most advanced scientific and technical positions, the highest world level in the productivity of social labor."



CHERNENKO (THIS PAGE)



slap. Traditionally, the news media are strictly controlled by the state and disseminate propaganda vehicles—often to the chagrin of worldly-wise Soviet citizens. The two most important newspapers, *Pravda* and *Izvestia*, take their names respectively from the Russian words for "truth" and "news" and consequently have given rise to a double entendre among cynical Moscovites: "The Truth is not the news and the News is not the truth."

Still, Gorbachev seemed unlikely to disregard the propaganda potential of state-run newspapers. Indeed, one of the vital acts of the Gorbachev era was an exercise in news management—indeed, possibly, a sign of vanity on the part of the new leader. In a break from tradition, Chernenko's black-edged obituary in *Izvestia* was relegated to the second page, while the announcement of Gorbachev's appointment appeared as the front page. Similarly, Soviet publications routinely retouch Gorbachev's photographs to eliminate the large purple birthmark that disfigures his forehead. Such shows of self-righteousness.

**Adapt.** Television and radio are tightly controlled, too, and Gorbachev has already shown himself adept at using the electronic media. On Feb. 24, two weeks before Chernenko's death, Gorbachev appeared at a Moscow polling station to cast his vote in regional elections. He was accompanied by his nine-year-old granddaughter, Oksana, and a throng of Soviet television cameras and photographers as well as foreign correspondents, all of whom had been alerted to a "historic opportunity"—namely a trapping of leadership. As the little girl helped her grandfather place his ballot, which was scrutinized to show his support for the only approved candidate in the state, the still photographers shouted: "One more, one more, one more!" A smiling Gorbachev held up an index finger and replied: "On the Soviet Union a citizen only votes once!" The television cameras recorded it all, and the scene played around the world.

Gorbachev apparently has chosen to follow standard practice among senior Soviet officials and keep much of his personal life out of the public press. For now, the Soviet Union's new "first family" has only four known members: Gorbachev, his wife, Raisa Madunova, who made a statement in initial appearances just a few

months ago during her husband's official visit to Britain, their daughter, Irina, a 27-year-old medical doctor, and granddaughter Oksana. Still unknown are whether the Gorbachevs have other children and the identity of Oksana's father.

Despite his relative youth, Gorbachev is a well-traveled Russian who made his international debut during an eight-

year trek he called about his family, about his daughter, his granddaughter. On their visit to Britain, the Gorbachevs received similar treatment by the media. They met Thatcher, toured museums and visited Parliament, where Gorbachev entered into an aggressive debate with British MPs who had criticized the Soviet Union for restricting religious freedom and not



## PARTY AND GOVERNMENT IN THE U.S.S.R.



day official visit to Canada in 1985. At that time, he met then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau, candidly gave an impromptu interview and was guided through Ontario by Rogers Wadlow, who was the federal agriculture minister at the time. At the same time, he visited Benif, Abu, and impressed most of the Canadian politicians and officials with whom he had contact.

Said Geoffrey Pearson, former Canadian ambassador to Moscow: "Back time I met him, he struck me as a person whom one could talk to across a table without any pretense or formality." Indeed, Wadlow's wife, Elizabeth, recalled experiencing Gorbachev at her 40th birthday party. "He was over dinner that he was a very warm, kindhearted

tolerating dissidents. Gorbachev's accident, unsurprising, off-the-cuff response attracted members of his official party but subdued his British inquisitors. Said Gorbachev: "Each of us has internal problems. You have a very big problem. You have Protestants and Catholics shooting each other as the streets of Northern Ireland."

As he wrestles with the problems ahead, those cumulative qualities may serve Mikhail Gorbachev well. The Soviet hierarchy is historically sympathetic toward failure, and, as Edward Luciwski, senior fellow at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, delivered last week, "Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader since Nikita Khrushchev who is young enough to be worth considering against."

With Ben Arden and Marc McDonald in Washington, Keith Clarke in Moscow, Peter Gosselin in London, and John H. Johnson in New York, the author is in New York, New York, and in New York, New York.

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Standard engine, 1900 cc, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp

Standard engine, 1900 cc, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp

Standard engine, 1900 cc, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp, 160 hp

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# The passing of a party man

He was, in retrospect, the ultimate caretaker: 50 years a loyal of bureaucratic, cautious and plodding content in government, the indispensable ingredient of Politburo politics—non-sense. And like his immediate predecessors, Yuri Andropov and Leonid Brezhnev, in his final years Konstantin Chernenko, the Soviet Union's 13-month term at the helm of the Soviet Union was plagued by ill health, hepatitis, cirrhosis of the liver and an embolism case of emphysema that ended his lungs and finally, at 73 years on Sunday, March 10, when his heart. For the third time in 38 months the flag in Moscow's Red Square were rifled in black. Chernenko, 73 when he died, had occupied the nation's most powerful post as head of the Soviet Communist party a mere 880 days—the shortest tenure of the six men who have held supreme power since the 1917 Revolution.

The gravity of Chernenko's condition had been an open secret for months. Since last Dec. 27 he had made only two public appearances. On Feb. 24 state television showed him frail and unsteady as he voted in regional elections for the parliament of the Russian republic. Chernenko clung to a chair while colleagues stood at each elbow in support from Lenin that came with the announcement Chernenko appeared again, receiving credentials on his election, visibly gasping for breath and unable to hold a bouquet of flowers.

**Warning:** In fact, the Chernenko era was marked as much by his absence from public view as by his presence. For 84 days last summer he disappeared, sparking rumors about his declining health. Then, after he missed the funeral of former defense minister Dmitry Ustinov in late December, reports of an imminent succession gained momentum. A scheduled Jan. 15 meeting of the Warsaw Pact in Sofia, Bulgaria, was postponed at the last minute. Promised audiences with visiting foreign leaders, including Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu, were cancelled. And only a few days before his death, Chernenko opened an International Women's Day gala at Moscow's Bolshoi Theatre. His pronouncements as general secretary and as Soviet president—an office he also held for his last 13 months—continued to suggest an "improvement" program. But, behind the Kremlin's official walls—so revealed in the stunning

succession of Mikhail Gorbachev to the party leadership—the transfer of power was already complete.

**Purge:** A surprise compromise choice to succeed Andropov as party leader on Feb. 13, 1984, Chernenko's enforced health quickly sapped his political strength. He did not see his role as peace-warding inside, collecting



Chernenko, a compromise choice, loyal and cautious

business, approving policy decisions conceived and executed by the anti-bureaucratic and by Foreign Minister Andrei Gorbachev. He said that decisions on the resumption of nuclear arms control negotiations with the United States, a renewed dialogue with China, the continuation of Andropov's attempted purge of corrupt bureaucrats and the crackdown on Jewish dissidents and genre activists were achieved not by the ruling president but by the ruling collective. For much of his own Chernenko was a largely ceremonial appendage. Indeed, Andropov marked his death with Page 3 obituary and a national mourning—yet Moscow's last communist era president.

Chernenko's career as a party apparition

was equally undistinguished. Born into a large peasant family in the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia in 1911, Chernenko went to work at the age of 12, in his words, "for a wealthy master to earn my living." Volunteering for border guard service on the Chinese frontier, he joined the Communist party in 1931 and a decade later, as Nazi Ger-

many invaded the Soviet Union, was named secretary of the Krasnoyarsk party committee. Unlike most of his Politburo colleagues, he did no wartime military service but instead attended a party school in Moscow, graduating in 1945. Three years later he took a five-year party posting in provincial Moldavia, neighboring Romania near the Black Sea. The job, as head of ideology, soon put him firmly under the wing of Brezhnev, who was the Moldavian Republic's party boss from 1950 to 1962.

**Owens:** Under Brezhnev's patronage, Chernenko rose through the ranks. When Brezhnev was made head of state in 1960 his loyal acolyte became chief of staff. Four years later Nikita Khrushchev was deposed, Brezhnev became party leader, and Chernenko was appointed chief of the Central Committee's

general department, which controlled Politburo business and party files. He joined the Central Committee in 1973 and became a full member of the Politburo in 1978. When Brezhnev died in 1982 it was Chernenko who nominated Andropov to succeed him. But as Andropov's own health deteriorated, Chernenko assumed increasing authority, and the old guard moved enough votes on Andropov's death to boost their candidate, Chernenko, into the leadership. He was the hand to the past, to familiar custom and comfortable tradition. But he was the fifth Politburo member to die in the past four years. His successor—Gorbachev—was a clear agent of the rise of a new generation.

—Ella Quattrone

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As you (left), Krasnoper, a long and difficult quest for a satisfactory arms accord that would benefit both sides.

## A promising start in Geneva

**T**he fresh gust of wind from Moscow was felt in springtime Geneva. As Mikhail Gorbachev took charge in Moscow last week, it was clear that the new Kremlin leader would not permit the death of his predecessor, Konstantin Chernenko, to delay the start of arms control talks in the Swiss city. On schedule, shortly after 11 a.m. last Tuesday morning, two delegations carrying the U.S. delegation arrived at the Soviet Union's mansion for the first meeting. And while chief American negotiator Max Kasperov signed a book of condolences for Chernenko, a smiling Viktor Karpov, head of the Soviet delegation, joyfully declared that Gorbachev had claimed the last regular Politburo meeting, on March 5, which approved the Krasnoper's last Geneva negotiating position.

**Beginning:** By all accounts, Gorbachev's swift accession to the Soviet leadership infused the negotiation of the U.S.-Soviet arms discussions with the bracing sense of a new beginning—both for the long-stalled arms dialogue itself and the broader issues of East-West relations. The Americans tossed the talks "serious and businesslike" and voiced optimism about prospects for an eventual agreement. Karpov testified that "everything is negotiable. If you want it," adding that if the two sides were determined to agree, they could do their work "on the kitchen floor."

At both the Soviet mission complex and again on Thursday at the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) building across the street from Geneva's botanical gardens, the sessions at least were agreeable. In ACDA's eighth-floor meeting room, the two sides sat in neutral-colored leather chairs, facing each other across a 25-foot-long wooden conference table. The 11 Soviets—three negotiators, four deputies, plus aides and interpreters—looked their backs to windows overlooking sparkling Lake Geneva and, in the distance, the cloud-covered peak of Mont Blanc. Across the table, 11 Americans prepared to begin what both sides concede—despite the promising auguries—will be a long, difficult quest for a comprehensive arms control agreement.

**Notes:** The talks last week were devoted largely to logistics—where, when and how often to meet. Each side read opening statements—"larger than a page and less than a Bible," said an American spokesman—and exchanged discussion papers. The actual bargaining began this week, when the delegations were expected to split into three separate negotiating efforts devoted respectively to strategic, intermediate and space weapons.

Exactly how the three sets of talks would be linked remained unclear. When U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko met in Geneva on early January, their final communiqué said that all the weapons systems would be "considered and resolved in their interrelationship." That formula struck observers as deliberately vague. It allowed Moscow to claim that there would be no

accord on strategic or intermediate arms without a matching agreement on space systems, which Gorbachev and other senior Soviet officials have declared to be their top priority. And in so doing, it permitted the Soviets to return to the large King table after a 15-month hiatus, quietly dropping their prior insistence that the United States withdraw its new cruise and Pershing II missiles from Western Europe.

The two sides began their assignment by sharply confronting goals. The Americans are anxious to reduce the firepower of Soviet land-based strategic missiles, the basis of Moscow's deterrent force. They also hope to secure agreement on reducing Soviet intermediate-range 500-3000 mile missiles. Last week the state department said that there were 414 to 416 new targeted on Western Europe and South Asia.

**Star Wars:** But if Gorbachev ultimately softens commitments in these areas, he is likely to insist that the American administration agree to abandon its planned \$80-billion Strategic Defense Initiative, commonly known as the Star Wars plan, a scheme aimed at devising space-based weapons that would shield strategic targets from enemy warheads. Given these differences, most observers agreed with Robert Byrd, the U.S. Senate minority leader, who said, "No one should expect miracles." But with the first meetings in bloom in Geneva and a rigorous new leader in place in the Kremlin, the mood for the moment at least was one of hope and determined optimism. —EUGENE BOLLOD in Geneva



# A day in the life of Ivan

Residents of Moscow greeted last week's announcement of Konstantin Gorbachev's death and the appointment of Mikhail Gorbachev as its successor with little awe. Their lack of concern or excitement contrasted with the anxiety 12 years before, when the death of Josef Stalin sent a wave of uncertainty through a nation still suffering from war, famine and political terror. Since Stalin's death a new Soviet society has emerged, strict, closed and often brutal, at last still creating a stable political system which provides its citizens with living conditions superior to those endured by earlier generations. But with the country's economy well behind the West, many Soviets welcome Gorbachev's arrival as a chance to reform a sluggish

Gorbachev, he has had no direct experience of the Soviet World War, in which 20 million Soviets died, one of the Stalinist terror that shaped the lives of his parents and grandparents. His own generation is the best-educated in his country's history. He has an average life expectancy of 62 years, which paradoxically far as industrialized nations, has fallen five years in less than two decades. Like most, near his age, he is married—although he is statistically liable to die for divorce—and he has fathered only one child. That trend concerns Soviet planners, who fear that a declining Russian population will, in the decades ahead, be overwhelmed by the more dense minorities of Soviet Central Asia.



Moscow vegetable market, soldiers in Red Square, women pushing from stability

economy whipped down by a vast, inert bureaucracy. For millions more, the prospect of change provides a relief against the unknown. Indeed, most Soviets have accepted the difficulties of daily life and often adapt cynically. Moscow's famed Moscow-based journalist Martin Walker to create a composite portrait of life for a typical Muscovite. His report:

He might be called Ivan Ivanovich—the John Q. Public of scientific socialism. Generation reared from the small cadre of revolutionaries that overthrew Russia's imperial court and established the world's first Communist party state in 1917, Ivan Ivanovich, like most of his friends and neighbors, does not even belong to the Communist party. Only seven per cent do. And, like 99.999

**Boredom:** His home is small by middle-class Western standards: a three-room apartment in one of the many high-rise buildings that ring Moscow's modern suburbs. He dines with his wife in the living room, while his child sleeps in an adjacent bedroom. Rising at 7 a.m., he listens to the news on MAYAK, Moscow's foremost radio station, which is followed by a 20-minute program of light entertainment called "Break." If the program is sleepily received, as it was last week, and replaced with the sombre tones of Beethoven's Third Symphony and other such music, Ivan knows that there has been a death in the Kremlin or that something serious has happened in the dimly perceived world outside.

While he prepares a breakfast of *bojfi* (potterovik), cheese and sausage, his

wife returns from an early trip to the bakery with a fresh loaf of *burmishka*, the pungent black bread whose aroma makes Soviet mornings warm with nostalgia. He may read his morning mail over breakfast. The monthly rent bill has arrived, the equivalent of \$12. As a result of heavy state subsidies, the cost of

meatballs is low. Indeed, electricity for the apartment costs only \$9 for the month. But in contrast, such luxuries as a ray of Lenin's coat \$120 and a video recorder \$4,500. Along with the mail, the morning newspaper has arrived. Like many Muscovites, Ivan peruses the pictures and human interest pieces of *Sovetskoye* before the other, ideological sections contained in *Pravda*.

**Society:** Today's edition carries a shocking article about children abandoned to state orphanages by mothers suffering from alcoholism, the Soviet Union's foremost social problem. But Ivan is attracted by an item reporting that the price of the *Zapovednik*, the most cherished and least popular Soviet automobile, has been cut 30 per cent to \$5,300. Still, that sum represents 118 per cent of his \$4,529 yearly salary. He would prefer a smart, four-door compact *Shkoda*, but that model costs twice as much, and the waiting list is no longer that short. Used models sell privately for about \$4,500 more than the price of a brand-new car.

Ivan's office in central Moscow houses prominent engineering organizations and monitors deliveries of prefabricated materials. Ivan is proud that his agency has a Soviet-built *Minsk* mainframe computer, even though he does not use it. Unlike their Western counterparts, few Soviet office workers ever come in contact with computers. Recently, planning officials have acknowledged that the nation is falling alarmingly behind in computer expertise. As a result, the school system has initiated a pilot computer science program in Moscow and Leningrad, in western Siberia, to register the staff widely used almost.

Ivan and his colleagues begin their day by planning shopping excursions. Working in Moscow's ubiquitous state shops is no time-consuming task. Ivan and his co-workers must often devote part of their working day to shopping. First, the staff compares notes on the day's retail opportunities. One colleague has a friend employed at the Gorky Street *Gastronom*. Foodstore who has reported that *baguettes* cheese is available today. Another worker has seen frozen prawns in the Ocean market store on Gogol Boulevard. Often, they will delegate one staff member to shop for everyone in the office.

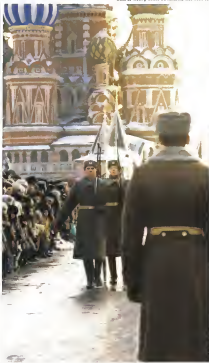
Like many Muscovites, Ivan has learned to use his unique Soviet customs which translates as influence or "pull." It is a complex system of bartering favors which provides shortcuts

through the system. Ivan's wife is a hairdresser who, in exchange for doing the hair of his neighbor's wife, the Baldie Baker, receives tickets to the latest program. Even more valuable than cash, the tickets will be swapped for spare auto parts, which in turn can be traded for women's shoes or special food.

After work Ivan meets an old friend from college who is still finding trouble for working on the last project—the building of the second Trans-Siberian railway in the isolated Soviet Far East. Ivan takes him to the trendy new basement club called the *Stolichnaya* where for \$7.50 each they enjoy a first-prize meal of smoked sturgeon and a consoling meal stowed with potatoes and resin. The *Stolichnaya* is a new arrival in Moscow's night life, quarter than traditional restaurants with their soup bowls and ruddy dancers. Instead, a heavy blood-scent evokes an ornate folk-song while the two friends drink a bottle of *Stolichnaya vodka*. The ruff, Ivan thinks, is better than most of Moscow's gloomy taverns, where 20-*logsk* (20-cents) automatic machines dispense beer in half-liter opaque containers stored at chest-high tables while drinking open-faced sandwiches.

Ivan's friend has brought two rare gifts: a bottle of *Spiri "supervodka,"* a potent Siberian drink that is almost pure alcohol, and a fresh pineapple imported from Vietnam. When Ivan and his friend decide to go home, they flag down a *privatnyy avto* in Petrovka Street and negotiate a \$5 ride for the 30 km back to Ivan's flat. It is not unusual for Muscovites to barter rides from passing motorists. Indeed, Ivan has paid for rides in an ambulance, a fire engine and even a snowplow.

**Evening:** When they get home, the 9 p.m. nightly TV news broadcast, *Pravda*, is concluding with a tedious item on "new productivity measures" of collective farms. Ivan and his wife switch off the set and heads up the family henhouse, a painted samovar that stands in pride of place in the corner of the living room. She opens another brownie, a rare tin of *salat*, and sets the table for a late-night snack. By midnight, the neighborhood gathering has wound down. Ivan's wife refers to her child's bedroom while Ivan and his friend contentedly doze off in the living room. They drift off to sleep aware in the knowledge that, however limited their access to the outside world, however restricted their freedom, life for their generation of Muscovites has never been better.



# A media giant enters America

By Bruce Wallace

Early every weekday morning Pierre Plaudin, businessman, publisher and socialite, climbs into the back seat of a chauffeur-driven Mercedes outside his home in the Laurentian Mountains community of Be. Adèle. During the 80-km trip to his Montreal office, the maverick founder and chief executive of Quebecor Inc., a \$145-mil-

lion Quebecor in record profits of \$114 million last year. Said David Schulman, director of investment research with Geoffrion Leclerc Inc. in Montreal: "Plaudin has reformed. He is now only 30 yards from the mainstream of conservatism instead of 100."

Indeed, the Journal's success is matched by the overall growth at Quebecor, the newspaper's corporate parent founded by Plaudin in 1966. In addition to the Journal, Quebecor owns daily

and. The new plant will enable the Journal to expand to 162 pages from 138. As well, to increase Quebecor's vertical integration—its ability to produce the entire product independently—Plaudin is planning to buy a paper mill. But Plaudin's main area of expansion will be in the United States.

In January he announced that Quebecor had purchased 60 per cent of Pentall Printing Inc. of Midland, Mich., as the first step in a bold plan of new acquisi-

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Plaudin: the establishment needs me.

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Journal printer: his sex, his and women, more revenue and responsibility for the company.

line printing and publishing giant, pours over his company's flagship publication—the Journal de Montréal. Currently Canada's second-largest daily with 300,000 readers, the Journal was known in the past for its steady diet of sex, its and social. But in the past five years Plaudin has torn down the paper's garb—men and—gained readers and respectability. Said a Journal staff member: "With higher profits has come an editorial policy that we can no longer run pictures of dead bodies."

Plaudin's reputation in the Montreal business community has undergone a similar transformation. Once considered by the establishment for his free-wheeling lifestyle and lavish parties, Plaudin has emerged as a major business force, aggressively guiding

papers in Quebec City and Winnipeg, 32 regional weeklies and a booming printing and publishing business which has left it rich weekly and searching for new ventures. Revenue for 1984 rose 26 per cent to a record \$279 million, spurred by a 30-per-cent jump in revenue from the printing division. Said André Lemaire, the senior vice-president of research at Montreal-based Lawrence Brosseau Inc.: "He has a hot newspaper sitting on top of an industry with great economic momentum."

Plaudin's appetite for expansion is voracious. For one thing, he is building a new \$18-million printing plant in Montreal for the Journal. It is the first paper was often forced to turn down advertising because of lack of space (on one occasion it had to refuse 17 full-page

space. In the near future, he said, he plans to buy two more printing plants in the United States and a number of weekly newspapers. Critics claim that Plaudin is overly frustrated by the growth that comes with owning American dailies, but he denies that is the main reason for his southern expansion. Said Plaudin: "There are simply no good markets left in Canada."

Plaudin's aggressive plans reflect his strong recovery from an \$11.5-million loss that he suffered during four years as the owner and publisher of the Philadelphia Journal. Plaudin closed the paper in 1981 after waging a losing battle to explore circulation and advertising from the paper's three established rivals. Plaudin said that the newspaper's "sports and more sports"

## Trailing laundered cash

For seven years General Angiola was a valued customer at a small branch of the First National Bank of Boston, located in the city's predominantly Italian north end. Angiola or his associates often arrived at the bank carrying paper bags full of cash—160 bags containing \$12 million (U.S.) between 1980 and 1983 alone. Although a U.S. federal regulation requires banks to report cash deposits over \$10,000, bank officials suspected Angiola's businessmen from the requirements. That decision is now haunting the prestigious bank, the 16th largest in the United States.

A justice department investigation of Angiola, who is alleged to head an organized crime family in Boston, uncovered the unreported deposits. The bank has not been charged with a criminal connection with Angiola. But the investigation also uncovered a total of \$1.22 billion in unreported overseas transactions which the bank had carried out for its customers. Last month the bank pleaded guilty to failing to report the dealings and was fined a record-setting \$200,000 by a federal district court. As William L. Brown, the bank's chairman, eventually told a Senate investigating committee last

week in Washington, "We are learning from our mistakes. Banks must work actively to prevent their being used as conduits for money laundering."

The First National Bank was caught in a new crackdown by U.S. Treasury and justice officials on lax reporting practices by banks and other financial institutions that investigators say enables organized crime to secretly transfer its profits abroad. The controversy surrounding the First National Bank is already spreading to other institutions. In the past two weeks two other Boston banks, the Bank of New England and the Shawmut Bank of Boston, have admitted substantial unreported cash shipments abroad. And 40 other major banks are being investigated by the Treasury department.

Last week the 13,000-member American Bankers Association, the industry's trade group, revealed that 46 big banks were seeking approval immunity from Treasury in exchange for full disclosure of any cash-transfer violations. Said William Bodes, the ATA's chief of federal agency regulations, "Nearly four dozen banks have asked us to get a safer, harder rule from the Treasury so that if they 'lose' up, they will not be penalized

ad." But so far, said Bodes, the Treasury has ruled out any such deals.

It is the sheer volume of illicit profits from crime—an estimated \$80 billion from drugs alone each year—that has led to the current crackdown. A huge industry has grown up to help turn such cash hoards into conventionally untraceable deposits. Couriers known as "mules" earn hefty commissions by breaking down drug dealers' mammoth cash earnings into smaller amounts. They deposit the cash into bank accounts of "front" businesses or invest through brokerage houses' stocks and money-market funds.

In the coming weeks pressure on the money launderers—and the financial institutions they use—will increase. Both Congress and the Senate have recently launched hearings into banking law violations. Several senators have also proposed legislation to stiffen fines and penalties for financial institutions that collaborate with the underworld—knowingly or not.

Despite measures that stricter laws will make the privacy of legitimate businesses and individuals, Washington's drive to dry up criminal cash flows is proceeding unabated. As a result, the Mafia, which dominates restaurant laundry services in many U.S. cities, may see its money laundering skills re-sharpened. —LEONARD COHEN in New York

## Bell hits new turbulence

The secretive session promises to be tense—and possibly contentious. This week federal industry Minister Stankey Stevens will convene a conference in Ottawa with a delegation of top executives from Bell Helicopter-Trotter Canada Ltd. to discuss the future of Bell's plan to complete Canada's first helicopter production plant in Mirabel, Que. Bell said for the meeting to reassure Stevens that the project was on track despite a series of events in recent weeks which cast its future in doubt. Most alarming for the government, which provided a \$275-million grant in 1983 for the project: Bell's U.S. parent, Providence, R.I.-based Teetrum Inc., announced on March 4 that its entire Bell Helicopter division—including the Canadian operation—had been put up for sale. Said Roger Robertson, an official in Stevens's ministry: "Mr. Stevens is somewhat concerned over the possible sale of Bell and all the bad press that the project has been getting recently."

At the meeting, Bell's emissaries will reassure Stevens that the intended sale of the Mirabel plant will not jeopardize its future. Said William Ledwith, Teetrum's senior executive vice-president of administration and planning: "We have

a contractual obligation in Canada, and whoever buys Bell assumes the Mirabel plant—it is part of the sale." Still, the prospective sale is only one problem likely to be discussed with Stevens. Controversy has also increased recently over the plant's viability and the employment benefits it will offer when it is completed by mid-1985.

In October, 1983, when Ed Lemley, then federal industry minister, announced a federal procurement grant to help Bell build the Mirabel plant, he said the grant would create 4,000 jobs, high-tech jobs, 20-year jobs. That prediction has proven unfilled. Then, early last month James Schweibs, president of the Mirabel firm, said the plant will initially offer only 600 jobs and the company itself will invest only \$117 million in the project, not \$225 million, as Ottawa had said when it announced the project. Asked about the discrepancy between

the job creation forecasts and his own, Schweibs simply said that Ottawa's figures had included a pin of job creation as well. Said Schweibs: "We fully expect to get up to the number of jobs we originally predicted—2,100—but the delayed recovery in the industry means that most of them will materialize later than expected."

There is a debate over Bell's prediction that the plant will be able to sell 120 helicopters for commercial use each year when it is in full production. Robert Maloney, an analyst with Wood Gundy Ltd. in New York was doubtful. Said Maloney: "These figures are based on a normal market. We have not had a normal market for years." Added Ralph Perreault, manager of marketing services for Aerospace Helicopter Corp. of Grand Prairie, Tex., a subsidiary of a Bell competitor: "I do not see what segment of the market would absorb that many machines." That is also a question that Stevens will be able to raise this week with the delegates from Bell.

—BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal



Schweibs: fewer jobs

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Poliquin Stevens (below): a town outraged over a federal government rebuff

## Tugging at the federal purse

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

**A**s a child in the Eastern Townships community of Windsor, Que., Knudsen Duhaud was fairly certain of what the future held for him. Declared the 32-year-old Duhaud last week: "I wanted to work here, and if you want to work here, jobs begin and end with Donstar." Both Duhaud's father and grandfather, along with a majority of Windsor's labor force since the 19th century, have worked at the company's huge newspaper mill. But last week Duhaud, a widower with a small son and 18 years' experience as a shaper at Donstar Inc., will be felt "angry, confused and fearful" for his job. The cause of his uncertainty is the federal government's reluctance to provide the mill with a \$117-million modernization grant. Without that grant, the future of the operation — and Windsor itself — will be in doubt. Said Windsor Mayor Adrien Poliquin: "There is no denial truth: without the mill, there is no Windsor."

Last Feb. 26 the town's 5,290 residents were stunned to learn that federal Industry Minister Sinclair Stevens had rejected a request for funding assistance to help pay for a \$1.2-billion overhaul of the mill. Donstar officials said that they would be forced to cancel the modernization and, ultimately, close the mill. The sprawling mill has produced furniture and requires environmental upgrading to keep its operating license. The decision immediately sparked a

national controversy that has endangered the Conservatives' newly acquired support in Quebec and prevented the first major test of Stevens' plan to cut back on federal grants to industry. Despite a wave of support in Quebec for the grant, Stevens told the House of Commons last week that such a profitable company "does not have to turn to the federal treasury."

Stevens has the full backing of Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who declared March 5 that one of the reasons the Tories are not helping the company is that "Donstar's financial situation is better than that of the federal government." The company's 1984 profit of \$98.5 million was more than double its 1983 figure, and it has a revolving line of credit for as much as \$450 million (U.S.) with a Canadian bank.



At the same time, the dispute over the grant has raised a sensitive issue for Stevens: whether or not the federal government should act as a benefactor for Crown-owned corporations. Two Quebec government-owned investment agencies, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec and the Groupe SOF, own

45.4 per cent of the company. Although Mulroney has said he has not yet set a policy concerning grants to Crown corporations, Stevens has indicated he is hoping to eliminate such funding. Donstar officials say that the grant is essential in order to raise the company's return on investment to the "acceptable" 15 to 18 per cent needed to justify the project—a rate considered healthy by investment analysts. The company's stand has sparked dire warnings about the effects of shutting down the operation. According to the Common Front for the Survival of Donstar, a coalition of local company, union and municipal representatives, over a five-year period the closure of the factory will cost 5,000 jobs directly or indirectly and result in a loss to the federal government of \$170 million in lost tax revenue and unemployment insurance payments. Said Michel Bousquet, the spokesman for the committee: "They can save jobs and money by giving the grant or they can hold the grant back—and cost themselves money."

Stevens argues that the grant would actually cost much more than the \$117 million requested—more than \$1 billion—because Ottawa would have to borrow money to make the loan. Stevens also says that the grant would set an unfortunate precedent. His office already has grant applications from several other forest product companies totalling \$2 billion.

Last week the government proposed a compromise solution to the standoff. In the Commons, Stevens declared that his officials were studying other alternatives to an outright grant. Among the possible options: generous tax credits for the company's investment, a government loan guarantee or a loan at reduced interest rates. Such measures, said a Donstar official who requested anonymity, would "ultimately grow us the kind of breaks we are looking for and at the same time give these guys the cut with honor as they have been looking for."

Any move toward breaking the deadlock would be welcomed by Windsor residents. Said Duhaud: "I vote for these guys because they were going to fix the economy and create jobs. Hell, we don't even want them to create anything — just to save what is here." As the Tories are discovering, even compromises can be expensive. ☐



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## BUSINESS WATCH

# The threat of TV superstations

By Peter C. Newman

At a time when most Canadians are lining up for us against the financial crisis being administered to the car, another more serious threat has suddenly loomed up to endanger the future of broadcasting—both public and private. It could eventually kill the networks that provide nearly all of our Canadian program content.

The reason for this alarming state of affairs is the potential emergence of eight superstations—in Edmonton, Hamilton, Vancouver, Montreal and four U.S. network stations in Detroit—which, by using satellites and cable systems, could bypass established broadcasters. If unchecked, this could create turmoil in the industry and eventually undermine the revenues required to produce both local and national Canadian programs. The storm, which has been spawned in principle by a CBC task force, would also threaten (Canadian Satellite Communications Inc.) the allegedly troubled TV carrier set up in 1982 to carry signals into remote northern communities, to renege its investment by allowing its four Canadian member stations (CTV-Hamilton, CTV-Hamilton, CTV-Vancouver, CTV-Montreal) plan four Detroit stations affiliated with ABC, CBS, NBC and PBS across to all of Canada—through satellite and existing cable systems.

Paul Martin, the president and chief executive officer of Global, the Toronto-based network, points out that "these stations would be carried to markets beyond the areas for which they are licensed. This would make the bidding for program rights catastrophic. Broadcasting in this country has thrived on its orderly development. It does not prosper in an environment in which there are dramatic changes and particularly changes that come in the form of a takeover by a foreigner." Privately, Martin compares the situation to the Jewish mother who has two children, a sick one and a healthy one. So she kills the healthy child to make room in the hope that the sick child will get better. "I see the same thing happening at the CBC. They're going to give the northern service by destroying everything in southern Canada that has taken so many years to build up."

Martin's concern is echoed by the CBC's Pierre Juhasz and by Murray Crossman, head of the country's largest private broadcaster, Chronicle. Riding on the coattails of their national pioneering are four Detroit sig-

nals of new technology driving the contents of Canadian television. "TV is harshly opposing the proposal to permit the cable coverage of over-the-air broadcasting of distant signals," he says.

The emergence of the new superstations is not yet an accomplished fact. The CBC partnership, formerly headed by André Bureau, current chairman of the CBC, has been in deep finan-



Martin killing the healthy chickens

cial difficulties, and an announcement of the cable firm's 34 recommendations could turn the superstations into a rich revenue producer. Already, a few Canadian-based ad agencies have grouped the potential of the new superstations. A media bulletin issued by McCann-Erickson notes with enthusiasm: "Global, CTV and CTV are quickly making the most of their. Riding on the coattails of their national pioneering are four Detroit sig-

nals, representing ABC, CBS, NBC and PBS. So Canada has seven leading superstations and, in turn, the superstations are presenting them with no alternative" (The Quebec station is not included.)

Apart from the obvious fact that ad revenues spent on these superstations would be lost to the present Canadian programming rights by Canada's TV networks, the other great potential loss from such an arrangement would be in local programming. "The great irony in that Edmonton, for example, now has a local station called 'new,'" says Seymour Chermak, chairman of Global TV's executive committee. "How long will it pay for CTV to worry about covering the news and views of its local audience when it attracts national viewership?"

De top of their concerns over the rumors that might be made by CTVM in the broadcasters' fear that the Mulroney government might remove itself an IBC C-56, which topped over-the-border advertising units by U.S. TV stations. "In the bad old days the Buffalo stations used to have the highest per capita revenues of any American market because of all the advertising money they got out of Toronto," says Global's Epstein. "By removing it now we are going to create a vacuum, saying it's okay for Canadian companies to advertise on American stations, but we're going to create a tremendous drive on the part of American broadcasters to put more border stations on the air."

All in all, Canadian broadcasting seems at a dangerous crossroads. Most important of all is the issue of preserving Canadian content in our airwaves. Harry J. Boyle, a former chairman of the CBC and one of the fathers of Canadian broadcasting, recently watched a week of American television during a Florida holiday and came back with this report: "American television is so overwhelmingly deteriorating into mediocrity. It reflects the national confusion of having a president who has literally baffled everyone—including the Democratic opposition—into accepting myth over reality. Just being there after a time confuses you. But I do know one thing. Our journalists, our newsmen, our magazines, our broadcasting, apart from factoring local and national identification, are vastly superior to what is happening there. The combination of such a powerful media—our insurance policy for the future of Canada—does not—only in America but in all of us."



Eclectic jazz singer **Clarence "Big Boy" Miller**, 63, says that his relationship with Alberta is a love affair which began when he played his first Edmonton club date in 1967. "We care for one another," said the Bronx City, Iowa-born musician, but when Alberta's *U of T* University offered to give him an honorary degree on June 15, he added, "I could not believe it." A road show veteran who toured with **Count Basie** and **Duke Ellington** in the 1950s and 1960s, Miller still plays clubs around the country but covers even more territory as Alberta's cultural "jazz ambassador," giving concerts in Europe and jazz workshops in high schools from Victoria to Halifax. Son of a black woman and a Swiss Indian preacher, Miller says he grew up "different and poor" in Kansas City. But he became a Canadian citizen in 1972 and proudly declares, "I'm a full-blooded Albertan too."

Dancer **Rylin Malone**, 36, a founding member of City Dance Theater of Boston, says she moved here to retire five years ago by practicing the Tao healing techniques that are part of the religion founded in China in the 6th century B.C. Now a senior instructor at the Healing Tao Center in Boston, Malone uses the Tao art of meditation and exercise in her art. "I have started to dance on an intellectual plane," said Malone. "Tao teaches you how to move your energy freely and forcefully."

Malone loves, sex and 'the inner smile'



through your body." In Toronto last week to teach seminars that included instruction on "the Taoist secrets of love and sex" and a special energy-strengthening exercise to reduce "the inner war," Malone said that New York Tao master



Ward: there are exercises when she steps to herself, I think you have lost your mind!

**Maxine Chia** has taken the secrecy and often out of a process that has been evolving for centuries, primarily in the Orient, but spreading gradually to Europe and North America. The prize has changed, too. First-century Chinese paid a membership fee of five bushels of rice to Tao priests. In Toronto students pay \$50 for one two-day, six-hour course.

Best Generation poet **Allen Ginsberg**, now 56, says that his new book, *Collected Poems*, tells the story of his late-1950s and 1960s search for "the ordinary mind," which, he explains, is "whatever happens in your mind." A practicing Buddhist who once experimented in psychedelic drugs, Ginsberg is now engaged in the creation of promoting his book and in tributes of his collected photographs of such writers as **Jack Kerouac**, **William S. Burroughs** and **Gregory Corso**. Ginsberg is also pondering the possibility of space travel and says he would like to "regain it and report it." Taking it most from his handful of public appearances, interviews and poetry readings for "a day in bed and some



Ginsberg: a sponsorship

knowledge. He does not want to be the first poet to leave the atmosphere—rather, he added, "the 10th."

Mass intelligence boss actress **Sally Ward**, 38, says she is not sorry that she turned down a role in the TV series *Dynasty* to pursue a movie career. But Ward does acknowledge that "there are moments when I say to myself, 'I think you have lost your mind.'" Ward made the decision last year when the successful her TV series, *Star Trek: Voyager*, after 22 episodes "I had about five minutes in the movie *The Man Who Loved Women* with **Barry B. B. Ward** and **Ward**, and I really decided to gamble and go for it." With that, she settled in to prepare herself for a comeback. After two months of condensing scripts and a sub-titling, she was a lead-in role in *Battle of the Bishops*, a spoof of Hollywood westerns scheduled for release in May. Starring with **Tom Berenger** and **Andy Garcia**, Ward describes her role as "Angel who is the personification of purity and innocence—but, in a twist, she is the town sympathizer." —ROBERT BYRNE LADENKOVITZ



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# A growing campaign to clear the air

By Hal Quinn

It has been 20 years since U.S. Surgeon General Luther Terry declared that smoking was hazardous to health and launched the first advo in what Garfield Halloway, director of the Toronto-based Non-Smokers' Rights Association (NSRA), calls "a war against tobacco use." Recently, that war has escalated dramatically with concerns about the dangers of inhaling so-called "second-hand smoke," bylaws prohibiting smoking in public areas and challenges to smoking in the workplace. Despite the recent failure of one such challenge heard by the Canada Labour Relations Board, another significant test awaits last week when the Public Service Staff Relations Board (PSSRB) heard further testimony in a case that could lead to the redesign of all government buildings—an expensive move that would set a powerful precedent for all Canadian employers.

The case before the board may yet yield a major victory for the anti-smoking advocates and another blow to an already ailing tobacco industry. At least, the backers of the challenge, which include the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), the NSRA and various U.S. and Canadian government experts are confident that it has a better chance of success than the anti-smoking case which Air Canada employee Albert Timpasee lost in March 6.

Timpasee, 35, a baggage supervisor at Toronto's Pearson International Airport, appeared before the board to argue

that smoking in his workplace subjected him to "imminent danger" through exposure to 60 chemical substances which he claimed are present in cigarette smoke but are prohibited under the



Davies; tobacco crop: new challenges

Dangerous Substances Act of the Canada Labour Code. But board vice-chairman Thomas Elorico denied Timpasee and his lawyer Lewis Litman the chance to argue the case with the help of expert witnesses. Instead, after a one-day hearing, he upheld the argument of a

Labour Canada safety inspector that smoking presented no "imminent" danger to Timpasee. Elorico is expected to issue the reasons for his judgment soon. But Timpasee is seeking public donations to help pay off his \$6,150 legal debt before appealing the decision to the Federal Court of Canada.

By contrast, the case that Peter Wilson brought before the board enjoyed the backing of his union and benefited from expert testimony. The case arose in January, 1984, when Wilson, 38, a health ministry finance clerk in Toronto and an ex-smoker, filed a complaint with the PSC claiming that the federal government was exposing him to a dangerous substance—tobacco smoke. The basis of the complaint was the federal employees' 1983 collective agreement which binds the federal government to adhere to Dangerous Substances Safety Standards it drafted in 1973 to regulate workplace safety.

The hearing will determine whether the federal government is culpable in allowing other employees to smoke in the workplace. A ruling against the government would affect 300,000 civil servants and could mean redesigning millions of square feet of offices to provide smokers with "separate ventilated rooms." Except for an outright smoking ban, the only alternative would be to replace existing ventilation systems to accommodate smokers. And Dr. James Repnon, a physician with the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency who testified on Wilson's behalf, estimated that it would require "220 air exchanges per



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hour" to rid a workplace of tobacco tar and nicotine at a capital cost of "about \$30,000 per smoker."

Wilson's move is supported by a book soon to be released by the NCI, which charges that almost all urban nonsmokers have measurable amounts of tobacco residue in their body fluids. Said the book: "It is misleading to discuss the health consequences of tobacco addiction in terms of smokers and nonsmokers. In every real sense, all Canadians are smokers." And Dr. Donald Wigle of Health and Welfare's Laboratory Centre for Disease Control insisted on Wilson's behalf that a "subtle fraction" of lung cancer deaths among nonsmokers

might could set off a chain reaction of similar decisions by lending a new legitimacy to concerns over secondhand smoke. Still, those concerns are not universally accepted, and the tobacco industry is leading the doubters. The R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., one of the largest tobacco companies in the United States, published full-page newspaper ads last month labeling media coverage as "one-sided." The ad cited the summary of an April, 1984, "Passive Smoking from a Medical Point of View" symposium in Vienna attended by "leading experts from around the world." The summary stated, "The connection between [secondhand smoke] and lung

cancer in their decision to institute smoking bans. The Boeing company followed the lead of the Seattle-based U.S. parent when it established the goal of a smokeless workplace in June, 1984. A new Westpac policy, banning smoking in many public places and requiring nonsmoking sections in restaurants with more than 30 seats, initially led Boeing management to outlaw smoking in the company's lobby, reception areas, hallways, meeting rooms and half of the cafeteria. The company then introduced these programs to help smokers break the habit. The West-Standard took its action on Jan. 1. Publisher Michael Davies banned tobacco ads from his newspaper, which he says will cost \$50,000 a year. Smoking is allowed only in designated areas, principally a second-floor luncheon/lounge. Reporter Angela Macgregor, 35, a nonsmoker who objected to newsroom smoke, said, "It has been accepted very well by the staff." In the 40-person newsroom, only eight are smokers.

These initiatives may indicate a growing anti-smoking consensus in society at large, but they do not yet constitute a significant trend in that they reflect tobacco use in general, which despite recent declines is still widespread. In 1984 tobacco companies sold 67.7 billion cigarettes in Canada. That represented a two-per-cent drop from the 69.1 billion sold in 1983, which in turn was five per cent less than the previous year. In the United States 580 billion cigarettes were sold last year, down from 634 billion in 1983 and 680 billion in 1982. And although farmers have begun to substitute other crops for tobacco in the face of those declines, it is still one of North America's most lucrative cash crops. In 1984, 18 U.S. states produced 7.7 billion pounds of tobacco.

Those figures give the tobacco industry considerable economic influence. But recent actions by many tobacco companies to diversify into other businesses indicate that they too believe that the antismoking trend will last. For his part, Dr. David Nettleman, former education director of the Canadian Cancer Society, predicts that in 20 years smoking will be a social phenomenon of the past. And in Canada, the Wilson case may help decide how quickly that day is of opportunities.

With Michael Huxley in Ottawa.



Boeing plant: North America's first major company to aim for a smokeless workplace

are caused by secondhand smoke. Added Repace: "Tobacco smoke in the workplace kills about 5,000 nonsmokers per year in the United States and about 680 nonsmokers in Canada."

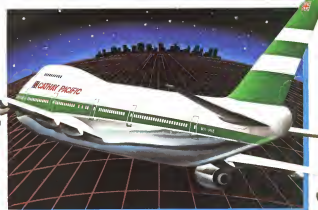
For his part, government lawyer Brian Overman argued that there is no conclusive scientific evidence that links secondhand smoke to health hazards. He also said that the 1974 safety standards "do not refer to substances produced by individuals acts of the employees but to substances used, manufactured or produced by the employer." Indeed, the standards were drafted when few people were concerned with secondhand or "environmental" smoke, according to John Saul, a former government safety inspector who assisted in drafting them. "We were all smoking while drafting the document," said Saul, "and far from thinking it could apply to us."

Wilson deputy chairman Walter Nisbet expects to issue his ruling in the case within two months. A favorable judg-

ment could not set off a chain reaction of similar decisions by lending a new legitimacy to concerns over secondhand smoke. Still, those concerns are not universally accepted, and the tobacco industry is leading the doubters.

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# The enduring splendor of Bach

By Jane O'Hara

There was no outpouring of grief from the musical capitals of Europe when Johann Sebastian Bach died on July 28, 1750, in Leipzig, Germany, at the age of 65. At the church where Bach had worked for the last 27 years of his life, teaching, transcribing, composing and conducting services, there was a brief announcement from the pulpit to mark his passing. Indeed, Bach died much as he had lived—in relative obscurity. And when he was finally laid to rest in an unmarked grave, his work was essentially ignored with him for almost 80 years. Then, on March 11, 1880, Bach was reborn into the world's musical consciousness when the gifted pianist and composer Felix Mendelssohn resurrected his prodigious *St. Matthew Passion*. It was a "revival" performance, teaching of a choir tradition that has continued ever since. This week his music will resound around the world, celebrating the 200th birthday of a man whose many consider to be the greatest composer of all time. Said Ronald Turek, a renowned American pianist: "His depth of emotion is infinite, his purity irreducible. And as for an popular appeal, he has everything."

**Celebrations** in many parts of the world the celebrations began in January, and they have included tours to two composers who were also born in 1880, Domenico Scarlatti and George Frederic Handel (page 12). To year's end, Bach's heavenly sounds will have ruled high the roof sounds in churches, intimate salons and concert halls, making the maestro a household name for those who cannot differentiate between a partita and a fugue. Said Anne Peters, director of Bach 200, Toronto's 15-day tribute: "It's had been any other com-

poser, we would not have mounted such a festival. But Bach is number 1 on the list parade."

Canada will celebrate Bach with a daytime series of festivities, including the most lavish of European events: From Vancouver to St. John's choirs and chamber ensembles are tuning up. The most ambitious tribute will be Toronto's 1992-93 Bach 200 and Edmonton's \$1.5-million Tri-Bach, which has been billed as the largest musical undertak-



Bach: genius in obscurity

ing ever staged in Western Canada, including a great of honor: Bach's great-great-grandson, great-great-grandson, John Sebastian Bach, who now lives in Calgary.

**Masterpieces:** Many lovers in Toronto are being treated to a smorgasbord of Bach wonders, including 18 new compositions or arrangements which have been created especially for the occasion. Vancouver singer Anne-Morille is leading the New Swingle Singers for a new version of Bach's soaring masterpiece, *The Mountain*. Although purists may not approve, the festival, judged from the sublime to the ridiculous. And

while the Canadian Brass provided a serious treatment of Harry Rosen's *Playful for J.S.B.*, the National Tap Dance Company of Canada clocked their way through the third *Bronxville Concerto*.

Indeed, international celebrations will be a run of serious musicianship and just plain showmen. In New York City there will be a Bach look-alike contest and a broadcast performance to Bach's music. One chamber group in Washington plans to play 500 of Bach's cantatas—a feat that will take 11 years to complete. In Europe the Bach triennial was the inspiration for Europe's Music Year, a \$66-million extravaganza which will set new devil levels a 24-hour triennial. It prompted a rash of popular biographies and coffee-table

books on the baroque era as well as a 130-album release of Bach's work by Deutsche Grammophon. In September 30,000 choristers will sing at an open-air mass celebrated by Pope John Paul II in Italy. Switzerland, on the other hand, is taking a radically different approach. Various municipalities have banned traffic from the streets so that nothing will interfere with the sound of music.

**Prophesy:** That myriad of modern technicians celebrates a wealth of compositions so vast that it is estimated it would take 70 years for one person to copy Bach's work. He is known to have composed some 800 choral works, most of them religious, a dozen major orchestral compositions—including the six Brandenburg Concertos—and hundreds of pieces of chamber music and works for organ and harpsichord. Hundreds of other pieces have probably been lost. Taken as a whole, Bach's music represents a virtual encyclopedia of Western music itself, and it has had a major influence on almost every composer who followed him, including Mozart and Beethoven. Said Lawrence Zitney, a professor at the University of Manitoba School of Music: "In his music, you can hear the coming of classicalism and Romanticism. He sums up what came before him and he also prophesies the future."

The massive output offers treasures for everyone. To some scholars, Bach's power lies in the driving mechanical surfaces such grandiose religious compositions as the *Mass in B Minor* and the *St. Matthew Passion*. Others are drawn by the richness of his tonal architecture, the key detail and layering of crystalline melodies which fuse, accented and leaping with urgency and beautiful logic. Conductor Leonard Bernstein has said, "He fashions a kind of sublime crowded pastiche where everything chimes and all the spheres are right."

This harmonic complexity intrigued Canadian pianist Glenn Gould, considered to be one of the most important Bach interpreters of this century, during his career. Gould, who died in 1982, made a laid, almost critical recording of the Goldberg Variations in 1955, founding the death knell for more romantic interpretations of Bach's keyboard music. Said U.S. pianist-composer Philip Glass: "It is quite astonishing that a piece of that great age could sustain the imagination of a man like Gould. Bach seems to continually challenge and stimulate the best musical minds."

Bach's influence has extended well beyond the realm of classical music. His works have been parodied, teased, deconstructed, reinterpreted and sampled by rock, rap, and pop musicians. From American swing bands in the 1930s to



Reviewers of Toronto's *Matthausen* (above), Felix (below), taking the roof beams with a great composer's precious music

Japanese rock players have had their way with him. Even underground punk rock bands in East Germany have borrowed from Bach, using his melodic ideas in their political protest songs. But the baroque master has endured the tampering said U.S. composer and satirist Peter Dinklage, who performs under the name P.D.Q. Bach: "No matter how you play his music, it still shines through as Bach." Many jazz musicians, including pianists Oscar Peterson and Keith Jarrett, have also acknowledged their debt. Indeed, Bach was himself a great musical improviser who based many compositions on his spontaneous keyboard improvisations. Said Peterson: "He is one of the most important influences in my music. He is the master of running lines, and I am drawn to the melodic quality of his music."

The current devotion to Bach's music is in sharp contrast to the reception he received during his lifetime. Although a respected organist and a pious but controversial composer, he was often criticized for what his detractors said was an excessively Baroque



style. Said P.D.Q. Bach: "He was considered a fuddy-duddy." Indeed, at his first job, as a church organist in Arnstadt, Bach was called before church authorities who complained that his music "obscured melodies and confused the congregation." As well, Bach had to withstand the attacks of many critics. In 1788 fellow musician Johann Schickel wrote, "This great man would be the wonder of the universe if his compositions displayed more agreeable qualities, were less bungled and sophisticated, more simple and natural in character." Even two of Bach's musically gifted sons, Carl Philipp Emanuel and Wilhelm Friedemann, refused to play their father's work after his death.

**Mendelssohn:** In becoming a church organist, Bach was following in the footsteps of his forebears, who had been professional musicians in the courts and churches of Germany. Born in Breslau, in what is now East Germany, he was surrounded throughout childhood with musical instruments and adults who were constantly practicing or perform-

ing. Although little is known about Bach's early years, his parents both died when he was 10 and he went to live with his older brother, Johann Christoph, who studied the organ under the respected Johann Pachelbel.

In all, he held half a dozen musical posts, mostly low-paid church jobs. In most positions he earned a reputation for being both early and handsome. He once drove a dagger on a fellow student whose treason was being announced as a holy gift. On another occasion he took a month's leave from his job at Arnstadt—without permission—to travel 370 km by foot to hear organist and composer Dietrich Buxtehude. And in Weimar, Bach was jailed by his employer, Duke Wilhelm Ernst, for being uncooperative.

**Tragedy:** Bach's life was also marked by sorrow. He fathered 20 children, seven by his second and first wife, Maria Barbara, who died while he was in Carlsbad. Only nine of his children were still alive when Bach died in Leipzig, where he had created most of his choral music despite being burdened with family problems, teaching duties and the responsibility for the musical programs in four major Lutheran churches. By 1749 Bach had suffered a stroke and he was totally blind from cataracts, although he still continued composing. In his final major work, the *Art of Fugue*, which consists of 20 different treatments of one eight-note theme, was written on his deathbed and never completed.

Now, the timeless quality of Bach's music still speaks to people of all nationalities. In many ways his work has a special appeal for the 20th century, providing a sense of order, purity and spirituality in a secular society searching for values. But Bach himself, against David Donaldson, "My life is not just happy because of my identification with Bach—it is *filled*." For the late Spanish official Pablo Casals, playing two of Bach's preludes and fugues on the keyboard each day was an exercise in part of existence. Said Casals: "It is a redemptory of the world in which I have the joy of being a part." For Toronto soprano Mary Lou Fallis, who will premiere a one-woman show called *Mrs. Bach* at the Tribeca Festival, the composer also has special meaning: "Six years ago the

straggled a note into a hospital delivery room so she could listen to classical music. Bach's joyful third *Bonhoeffer* Concerto accompanied the birth of her son, Benjamin David Fallis. "I found Bach a strong foundation in rest on. He also helped me with my breathing."

**Indestructible:** Bach's music has been put to more bizarre uses. In Gidon Kremer, Bach, for which he won the 1980 Pulitzer Prize for notation, computer scientist Douglas Hofstadter used the mathematical structure of Bach's compositions to examine the possibilities of computer intelligence. Some rock musicians have used attempts to reduce

them that Bach has traditionally been corrupted in performance. During the 19th century many of the instruments that Bach composed for, including the harpsichord, had become almost extinct. And the changes to the harpsichord and used in the 18th century, having fallen into disrepair, were replaced by massive organs which created thunderous effects. But in the early 20th century Polish pianist Wanda Landowska spearheaded a return to a less bombastic approach. With sensitive fingers she also labored to restore harpsichords to their rightful place in performances of Bach's work. Landowska's radical re-inventions was a direct precursor of Gould's rag and beguiling interpretations of Bach.

**Bachism:** Currently, the battle that Landowska launched is still raging as musicians debate whether Bach should be played on modern or authentic harpsichord instruments. Henry Renneberg, a music professor at the University of Ottawa, says he finds the sound of period instruments "extraordinary, and added, 'Our ears are spoiled by our modern orchestras and the nearly perfect imitation of the instruments.' But Trevor Pincock, the respected English harpsichordist and founder of the English Concert, says that the original instruments his ensemble uses are preferable. Pincock "With a modern instrument you have to worry that the tone or the sound is too heavy for the music as it was written."

For three centuries Bach's music has survived and transcended cultural change and shifting musical tastes. For generations people have walked down the stairs to Bach, been buried to Bach and recently even had brunch to Bach. His music has challenged and engaged a dazzling array of the best musical minds and has managed to soothe and delight musical neophytes. Bach bequeathed the world an immeasurable legacy which warmed up the past and has remained pure and indestructible in the present. That will doubtless continue to generate a sense of awe in the joy of his musical mastery.

*With photos by John, Sherry, Albert and in: Night, Ron Friesen in Winnipeg, Peter Lantz in Toronto, Anne Adams in New York, David North in London and Julie Ross in Ottawa.*



Gould: beguiling interpretations of Bach's intricate architecture

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# A joyful chorus through the ages

By Shona McKay

With the spiritual strains of Johann Sebastian Bach's music resound throughout the world, an equally vibrant but more approachable talent is also receiving his share of glory. In opera houses, churches and concert halls throughout Europe and North America, crowds are gathering to hear the joyous and exhilarating music of George Frederick Handel, composer of *Messiah*, *Water Music* and hundreds of other choral and instrumental works. Both Bach and Handel were born three centuries ago, in German towns less than 100 km apart, but their musical lives were totally dissimilar. While Bach remained an obscure provincial composer of limited means, Handel became a wealthy and sophisticated international celebrity and the intimate of aristocrats and kings. Unlike Bach, whose contemporaries considered his music old-fashioned, Handel had a winning flair for spectacle. Said Bernard Labadie, a choralmaster at Laval University in Quebec City: "The religious nature of Bach's music is always paramount, whereas Handel is essentially theatrical."

**Acclaimed:** This year's tribute to that musical flamboyance proves that Handel's place in the musical firmament is still as bright as it was in his day. In January, 5,000 singers from six countries gathered in the city of Gothenburg, Sweden, to perform Handel's most famous composition, *Messiah*. In New York the composer's 300th anniversary is being marked by a revival of four operas at Carnegie Hall, featuring the government school Marjorie Harris and Kathleen Battle. Festivals in London, England, will include concerts by some of Britain's most prominent classical musicians at Westminster Abbey and Royal Albert Hall. And even staunch modernists are bowing to the 17th-century master. Said American jazz pianist Keith Jarrett: "The keyboard music, especially, is not known today and I want to make it heard again." His compositions were subtle and elegant, and his voice drew an "A" in the music-going public's vocabulary. The first event to be held not in Toronto's 200 Festival this month was the Academy of Ancient Music's performance of Handel's *Water Music*.

Handel learned his lessons for greatness at an early age. Born in Halle (now in East Germany) to a barber and surgeon, he achieved fame at age 30 when he produced his first opera, *Alcina*. Prince Blomstedt, on a

pothole pilgrimage to Italy, where he travelled to study opera. Italians were so impressed by his virtuosity as a performer and by the hundreds of his simple and melodic cantatas that they dubbed him *Il caro Sassone* (the dear Saxon). *New York Times* music critic Harold C. Schonberg wrote in his book *Lines of the Great Composer*: "Handel's music is, in many ways, more accessible



Handel: a consummate pleaser of crowds and kings

than Bach's easy to understand, more direct in statement, less complex, more strongly melodic and virile."

**Tempest** It was in London that Handel made his biggest impact. From the first time he visited the English capital in 1711 to launch *Rinaldo*, an opera staged with bombastful sets, elaborate costumes, flying dragons and flocks of birds, the opera-hungry Londoners adapted the gifted young composer. They soon dubbed him "the Great Bear" because of his aggressive, thickly accented English and fiery temper. He is said to have dangled an errand female singer out a window until she promised to improve her technique. Indeed, when

Handel died in 1759, 3,000 mourners attended his funeral at Westminster Abbey.

A lifelong bachelor known for his womanizing, Handel had a colorful personality that won him the patronage of a number of British aristocrats and even Queen Anne and fellow German expatriate King George I. Writes French novelist and Handel biographer Jeanne Bollard: "His gaze was

direct, there was a quietness in his bold eye, a smacking target at the corner of his large, fairly cut mouth. His air was impressive and joyful." In an attempt to endear himself to the king, Handel once mounted a musical extravaganza on a barge in the Thames River. The monarch rewarded him with a healthy lifetime stipend.

**Genius:** When the fickle London audiences eventually grew tired of opera, they turned to the German-English composer's oratorios. But Handel, a consummate crowd pleaser who was as adaptable as he was gifted, remained undaunted. Concentrating his talents upon the voice he wore a number of the religious character works known as oratorios. In his operas, Handel had already displayed a talent for using voices to their full creative potential, but his oratorios remain his trademark. More

than any other Baroque composer, *Messiah* showcases the discerning clarity and sweetness of his music. De lauding his *Mitridates* Chorus in London, 18th-century American composer Joseph Haydn is said to have risen to his feet, weeping and declared, "He is the master of us all." For Walter Kopp, director of the St. Paul's Singers in Halifax, Handel's choral music is "a great vehicle for gathering people together. It is his great gift to us." That gift is a perennial reminder of Handel's genius.

Was Handel born in London, Shona Anderson in Halifax, his present in Winnipeg and Noreen Robertson in Montreal.

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## Torture's painful legacy

By Paul Berton

For most people painful memories are merely annoyances, and bearable irritations. But for many victims of torture, simple everyday experiences can trigger graphic recollections of beatings, electric shocks and other painful abuses that often are no less terrifying and debilitating than the original experiences. Traditionally, doctors have been at a loss to treat refugees from various troubled parts of the world who have arrived in Canada beset by the so-called "torture syndrome." But in April the year-old Canadian Centre for the Investigation and Prevention of Torture will open its first permanent office in Toronto, consolidating a network of doctors and volunteers which has already been treating and counselling victims to help them and normal lives. Said University Council, director of the centre: "We're trying to teach survivors a better equilibrium of mind and body so they don't end up on the floor every time a door slams."

Many torture victims share common



Allodi: the worst case are often mental

symptoms, including insomnia, anxiety, recurring nightmares, irritability, depression and an inability to concentrate. One man from El Salvador suffered an anxiety attack when a high-school teacher merely remarked during a classroom debate that he enjoyed angling. That brought back the memory of his torturers, who said they were punishing him for angling. For the next three days he lay in bed in a state of terror.

Another of the centre's clients panicked when he saw a Land Rover on a Toronto street similar to one in which his torturers abducted him a year ago in Uganda. Suddenly, he became lost in his own neighborhood. Volunteers with the centre are also helping a Ukrainian who was raped and had acid poured on her genitalia. "By the time we found her she was almost incapable of responding," said Council. For many torture victims, added the centre's chairman, psychiatrist Federico Allodi, "every little occurrence becomes as fearful as death itself."

Sufferers of the torture syndrome rarely require hospitalization. The first stage of therapy is simply to get people to talk about their experiences. Said Allodi: "They try to hide it because they are ashamed, and unless they are released the tension mounts." For many counselling, gaining the trust of their patients has major hurdles. Many torture victims are so fearful that they rarely venture outside their own homes. But once a rapport has been established and the sufferers regain some confidence, the centre puts them in touch with other community organizations to help them gain education and employment.

Experts predict that the centre will also be valuable in helping to solve the current political problems of torture victims. The Canadian government granted permanent residence to approximately 30,000 refugees last year. But an estimated 7,000 more sought asylum either at the border or after gaining entry into the country, and many have no way of proving that they are genuine refugees. The reason, according to Allodi: "The technology of torture has been so refined that many prisoners bear no physical marks."

The Toronto centre is modelled after a similar one in Copenhagen, one of the few facilities of its kind in the world. But Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich has appointed a commission to consider establishing one in his state, and many of those familiar with the torture syndrome say that the need for more such facilities is great. Said Toronto immigration lawyer Louise Waldman: "There is no evidence to suggest that the incidence of torture is going to decrease." And for many of its victims the centre may represent the only haven from painful memories.

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### Lie detectors go on trial

For the past three years people applying for jobs at establishments with the Winnipeg Police Department have had to submit to lie detector tests. But now representatives of the city's winning groups are mounting an ambitious campaign against the department's use of the electronic polygraph tests, charging that they are being used to keep minorities off the force. Said Israeli-born Toran Hamarschi, chairman of the Manitoba International Alliance, an anti-racist lobby formed two months ago: "They give you a result which is not accurate. A machine not accepted by any court of law should not be a tool of the recruiting process."

Black, Hispanic and Sikh living in the city are among the groups arguing that applicants from different cultural backgrounds react in dissimilar ways to same words and phrases and produce easily misinterpreted test results. For his part, Wade Williams, chairman of the Forum for the Awareness of the Minority Elements, an advocacy group that began lobbying for increased minority hiring on the police force three years ago, declared, "You would not find 10 reliable minority policemen in the department." Williams, a native of St. Vincent in the West Indies, failed in three attempts to join the police department in 1975 and 1976.

Spokesmen for the 1,085-member force say that they do not keep statistics on officers from minority groups, but, said deputy police chief Stanley Seear, "Only a few police officers at the present time are members of visible minorities." Police officials deny that they use polygraph results to screen hiring, and they point out that the Edmonton, Calgary, Regina and Halifax forces also use the device to recruit applicants. Said Seear: "We are simply trying to get the best possible recruit. It is nothing more than that. The testing is an attempt to verify the truthfulness of the candidate."

Although the police had not disclosed use of the test until just over a month ago, the force planned to demonstrate the use of the polygraph at a city hall meeting this week, using actual questions given to applicants. But Hamarschi declared: "It changes nothing." Clearly, despite this week's demonstration of police polygraph techniques the controversial campaign against the lie detectors is now firmly launched.

—GARY MORN in Winnipeg

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## Treating early puberty

One two-year-old girl has large breasts, another infant began menstruating when she was only 17 months old, and a 13-year-old girl who first showed signs of puberty nine years ago now has cancer of the right ovary. During the past decade similar incidents of premature sexual devel-

opment—a rare disorder that usually affects one child in 10,000 in most countries—have appeared in thousands of Puerto Rican children, some as young as nine months. In response, the government of the U.S. territory asked a 10-member panel to investigate the problem last January, estimating that 5,000

girls under the age of 9—nearly one percent of the females in that age group—were suffering from the condition. The government insists that the cause of this epidemic is still unknown, but a San Juan pediatrician claims that local meat producers implanting growth-stimulating hormones in cattle and poultry are to blame. Declared Dr. Carmen Sileana de Rodríguez: "It is either abuse or ignorance of the people using the implants that they are not withdrawn in time."

Sileana, the pediatric director at Hospital de Hago near the capital of San Juan, has treated about 600 cases of premature sexual development, most within the past three years. The majority of her patients has been infants or young girls with enlarged breasts, and, while a few boys have also developed similar symptoms, doctors are unsure why females are more vulnerable to the condition. Sileana and other doctors also contend that the condition has no serious consequences when detected and treated early.

But precocious puberty in an advanced stage produces fully developed adult sexual characteristics in children under 9. It may even stunt the children's growth. In treating both early and more advanced stages, Sileana urges the families of patients to stop eating chicken. When they do so, she says, the condition is halted or disappears entirely. But the U.S. Food and Drug Administration and the federal department of agriculture contend that their tests have not detected high levels of estrogen in Puerto Rican chickens.

At the same time, spokesmen for Puerto Rico's agriculture department insist that island food producers use the same hormones and chemicals under restrictions identical to those applying to farmers on the U.S. mainland. Under those regulations farmers are required to stop administering growth stimulants to livestock 60 days before they are slaughtered.

Dr. Adolfo Pérez Conas, another pediatrician from Mayaguez on the eastern end of the island, who helped to raise the alarm about premature development, has demanded stricter inspection of foodstuffs imported from Central America, where regulations governing farmers' use of growth stimulants are loose. Unlike the continental United States, which receives few meat products from Central America, 50 per cent of the meat eaten by Puerto Rico's 3.5 million inhabitants comes from that region. And the two pediatricians, who have agreed to serve as the government panel investigating the phenomenon, say that they are going to continue to campaign for quick action—before any more Puerto Rican children reach sexual maturity before their time.

—PETER GAYNES



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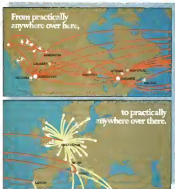
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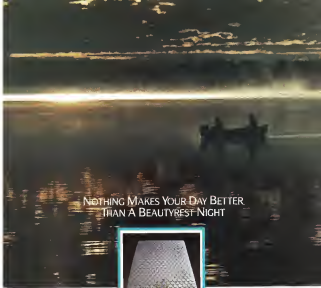
Now that Richard and Linda Thompson's marriage has broken up, the emotional wreckage of England's once-succesful partnership is evident in their recent solo albums. Both are highly accomplished recordings. Richard's latest venture, *Across a Crowded Room*, finds him still somnolent and confused. But it ranks with his most consistently rewarding work. Musically, *Five in the Evening* is lost and demented, while *Glouce in the Wind* expresses his emptiness to the plaintive sound of bagpipes. And *Now Don't Stop*, with its haunting female voices, reveals the vulnerability of his heart. Like Richard, Linda is still haunted by voices, although several sympathetic numbers ease her darkest moods. *One Over Measured Still*, Linda's solo career since married on the strength of her drag, resonant vocals. The album's most compelling notes include the richly waltzy *Trilling Me Luce* and the lullaby ballad *Only a Bird*, with its ringing undertone, "Long may you rest in bed." In that line, Linda delivers one of rock's most summertime messages.

SECRET SECRETS

Jean Armistead  
(A&M)

Jean Armistead's emotionally honest songs have recently been lost in lo-fi, synthesized productions. Now, the 36-year-old West Indian-born singer has found a producer, Mike Lipowicz, who has helped to pare down her arrangements. The result is *Secret Secrets*, Armistead's most revealing and varied album in four years. On *Love By You*, a touching ballad with simple piano accompaniment, she pleads "Don't leave this girl lost in space." She also takes emotional risks in the playful Latin jazz of *Talking to the Wind* and with aggressive rock guitar in *Moons*, which deals with the frustration of sexual pursuit. Although she confesses to awkwardness when singing "If by don't I know how to make these moves?" Armistead remains an assured, graceful artist.

—NICHOLAS JOHNSON



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## FILMS

# Brotherhood behind bars

BEYOND THE WALLS  
Directed by Uri Barish

Beyond the Walls, an Academy Award nominee for best foreign film, arrived from Israel weighted with prices and almost in controversy. Director Uri Barish has steered a brave and unpopular course by telling the story of an Israeli armed soldier and a Palestinian terrorist who not only come to terms with each other as fellow prisoners but bravely reject those who exploit the Arab-Israeli conflict in order to oppress both sides. The lesson in Barish's earnest, violent and ultimately stirring myth is as clear as the pull of gravitation above the Negev desert: peace is the way, *salvo*.

Uri (Amos Oz) and Isaac (Mahamad Baker) are prisoners in a racist Israeli jail where the Middle Eastern conflict is being fought in miniature. Uri leads a cell full of militant Arab and Isaac controls the equally indigent Arabs. Meanwhile, the security officer (Hilal N'eman) plays one side against the other. When the inmates learn about a Palestinian attack on an Israeli village, a prison party turns violent. A guard struggles a Jewish drug dealer, but the Arabs are blamed.

Little is left to the imagination in Beyond the Walls. Jewish prisoners pump-poke a fellow cell mate. The Israeli authorities are all either racist oppressors or sadists. The security officer delights in torturing recalcitrant prisoners. Isaac becomes the prison's moral leader because he is willing to die for his dream of a better world for both Arab and Jew. But Uri is the prison's real hero because he is willing to accept Isaac. The unspoken friendship that builds between the two men culminates in a prison-wide hunger strike and gives the movie's climax a moral fervor.

Barish shows us the fear of a straightforward appeal from the heart. No tongue-in-chee whimsy. The authorities bring Isaac's young son to the prison, tempting him to break the hunger strike. The child stands uncomprehending before his ailing father, who is willing to gamble his son's future for the ideal of a new man brotherhood. But the movie's impact comes in also its virtue. Beyond the Walls describes an insoluble problem without going in to despair. People continue to die in a futile war, but humanity does not. —GINA MALLER

# A taste for adventure



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The guy at the desk was showing me the kind of respect usually reserved for royalty or men with 18" necks."

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BOOKS

# A defector's confessions

**BREAKING WITH MOSCOW**

By Anatoly N. Shcharbansky  
(Random House, \$70 pages, \$25.95)

On April 4, 1978, Anatoly Shcharbansky, undersecretary-general of the United Nations and former Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, became the highest-ranking Soviet official to defect to the West. In exchange for a promise of eventual asylum, he had served as a reluctant spy for the United States during the 12 months that preceded his defection. In *Breaking with Moscow*, a hybrid of thriller, autobiography and political analysis, Shcharbansky traces both his diplomatic and his spying career. Sandwiched between the revealing of his decision to defect and the actual event almost three years later is an account that covers the entire scope of current Soviet history. It is a gripping story, compelling in its detail and overwhelming in its condemnation of a vicious system.

Born in the Ukraine in 1915, Shcharbansky himself was well treated by the Soviet system. At the age of 18 he was one of the few scholars chosen to attend the esteemed Moscow State Institute of International Relations. Joining the foreign ministry in 1936, he rose through its ranks quickly. In 1963 he was appointed chief of the Security and Political Affairs Division for the Soviet UN mission. By 1976 he became personal adviser to Gromyko and three years later he was named the top Soviet official at the UN as undersecretary-general.

Despite his rapid ascent, Shcharbansky grew increasingly disillusioned with the system he served and disgusted by its relentless hypocrisy and cynicism. He underlines the fact that every Soviet representative who takes the oath of the UN's permanent secretariat commits perjury. While UN officials are supposed to act as international civil servants, Soviet activists are expected to further the interests of the USSR without regard to international concerns. Indeed, the text regards the UN as its best

watchtower in the West, with more than half the 700 Soviets in New York working as either full- or part-time spies, according to Shcharbansky. As Gromyko resented to Shcharbansky on his appointment, "You're a Soviet ambassador first, not an international bureaucrat." Shcharbansky points Gromyko and the rest of the ruling elite as a group completely isolated from the people. Control and secrecy are paramount, with power concentrated in the hands of two dozen men at the top. Intrigues within the Politburo are sharply bled for maximum personal power and are used to

political purposes or to the state's ultimate objectives. According to Shcharbansky, the Western media's distinction between hard and soft Communism is simplistic. He writes, "Soviet leaders are all aggressive, all hostile with respect to the final goals of their policy." But the book portrays Gromyko and Brezhnev as advocates of cautious confrontation with the United States. A high point in Gromyko's career, Shcharbansky believes, was the dramatic display that emerged during the Nixon-Vost/ Kissinger years, when the two superpowers constructed an uneasy partnership and strategic rivalry became more than a stalemate.

As well as offering a glimpse into the corridors of power, Shcharbansky provides his own analysis of the Kremlin's long-term strategy. He insists that the Soviet leadership does not intend to launch a nuclear war to win a worldwide victory for its brand of socialism, which it believes can be achieved by other means. That would be a last resort, he claims, initiated only if no alternatives were available and if the survival of the nation was at stake. Shcharbansky's ultimate conclusion is that the West must keep the channels of communication open to the Soviet Union. To avoid disaster, he says that it is imperative "to seek reasonable and practical consequences in our cooperation where our interests are in alignment." It is a sober judgment on a precarious world, coming from a man who has seen both sides. —GILBERT WINICK



Shcharbansky, Soviet spygoosey



Cassiodor: Creating pornography as a symptom of sexism rather than the disease.

## Taking aim at censorship

**WOMEN AGAINST CENSORSHIP**

Edited by Paula Bartysta  
(Doubleday & McIntyre, 248 pages, \$20.95)

Women Against Censorship, a collection of 31 essays edited by Toronto writer Paula Bartysta, performs an amazing balancing act. It understands the outrage that an awareness of pornography has caused in the women's movement. Jane Calhoun, after cautiously recounting her integrity as a feminist, has been attacked by those who oppose her overall feminist stance, writes, "Pornography, like rape, views women as objects, and so more our deepest fears." But the book also rebels against the bunker mentality of those who foster censorship as the "solution" to pornography. Its writers would not trade an already qualified freedom for such safety, although they know how tempting the idea of safety is in a time of unprecedented upheaval between the sexes.

The book gives the reader an argument in progress, acknowledging that along time lines Bartysta introduces the first in her opening chapter, "Political Precedents and Moral Considerations: Women, Sex and the State." Diving into the history of 20th-century feminism, she emerges with a sound warning for second-wave feminists: they should not trust the state to reform itself in their interests. She writes, "State institutions are not empty vessels into which any group is society can pour content." The concerns of censorship laws are concern of officials, judges, police officers and censor boards. In her view, the pursuit of legal reform, lawyer John King pointed many examples of legislative

working once substantially wrong in the hands of its implementers.

The second thread of the collective argument is the more disturbing one. Bartysta and her co-writers agree that by defining pornography the central disease of sexism, rather than a symptom, the women's movement may have created a large new dog to hunt as a surrogate for everything that threatens them. The danger is that the straw dog is not just an easy symbol of female anger, but also an easy target for feminist attack. Antipornography feminists have found themselves in league with establishment politicians, right-wing groups and the very institutions that feminism seeks to transform. Bartysta suggests that pornography is too safe an issue to be empty about, something that easily displaces the tougher issues as the feminist agenda.

For the book's arguments to succeed, they have to deal with the toughest issue: whether there is a direct link between pornography and violence. Feminist Thelma McCormick, whose survey of research as the impact of pornography is included, could find no evidence of that link. And artists Lana Stern, Sara Diamond and Anna Green insist that women must undertake a moral education on the meaning of visual images. Writes Green, "Supporters of censorship hold the dangerous belief that all images have a fixed meaning and can induce viewers into imitative action." The article's message is not "ban the bad images" but "make our own."

As Lana Stern writes, "Instead of using our anger and energy to simply fight against it, we really need to be fighting for it." —ANNE COLLINS



"The kid had heard all the horror stories before and he was scared."

He was in charge of his first sales meeting and he shuddered and shook the way most people do when you say the words "cold call." It was obvious nobody had given him the words on Ramada.

"What if they forget the shrimp cocktail?" he said, his face turning white as he a diplomat's shirt. "Where yet?" he continued, "What if the group doesn't show up and there aren't enough rooms for everybody?"

"They won't, it will, and there will be," I replied in a voice I use when talking to people on the verge of panic. "But how can you be so sure, Mr. Business?" he asked. And I could see he needed a shot of hope the way some men need a shot of truth.

"Easy," I said. "You've booked Ramada." And as I turned to leave I thought I heard thunder, but it was only a sigh of relief.

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# The battle over cutbacks

By Jane O'Hara

Two elementary schools in Delta, B.C., near Vancouver, could soon have "for sale" signs uprooted on their neatly trimmed lawns. The reason: the local school board exceeded its no-frills 1994 budget of \$50 million by \$855,000, and British Columbia's education minister, Jack Hainsworth, has ordered it to make up the shortfall and pay an unprecedented \$100,000 penalty for overspending. He also told Delta to cut \$855,000 from its next budget of \$50 million. Now the board hopes to raise money by selling some of its property to pay the imposed cost to give itself a cushion for anticipated overspending in the coming fiscal year. But Delta's trouble is only one local skirmish in a province-wide fight over cuts that Premier William Bennett's Social Credit government has imposed on education spending.

During the past three months students have held demonstrations and angry parents and teachers have packed meetings to promote a single demand

that the cuts be stopped before they seriously damage the province's education system. Declared 15-year-old Shah Malikian, a Grade 10 student at Vancouver's Point Grey High School: "We have 48 people in a class and we have no school supplies. It's just getting to be a

**The education minister has become embroiled in a battle of statistics with the province's school boards**

bad joke." But the government defends its hard-line approach as the only way to force school boards to comply with a restraint program designed to reduce a provincial deficit, which stood at \$700 million in September, 1994, and put British Columbia out of a lingering recession.

Education has become a West Coast battlefield because unlike other provinces, where school boards have the option of raising additional funds through property taxes, the B.C. government until last month controlled all education spending. For the 1990-91 fiscal year it has allocated \$1.6 billion, divided among 35 local boards, ordering them to operate with \$70 million less than they had in 1990, when the restraint program began. But some boards rebelled against the government's guidelines, arguing that they have already eliminated all possible waste. Further budget reductions, they say, will mean more teacher layoffs and even larger classes.

As a result, Hainsworth has become embroiled in a confusing battle of statistics with the school boards and the \$6,000-member B.C. Teachers' Federation. The BCIF says that 1,800 teachers have lost their jobs since the restraint program began and warns that more cuts will lead to the dismissal of another 1,800 to 2,000 teachers. But for his part, the education minister contends that this year's cuts are relatively small and British Columbia already has a surplus of teachers. Indeed, ministry of education figures indicate that while the number of teachers had dropped by three per cent in the past decade, the decline in numbers of children attending B.C. schools had been even greater—a 10-per-cent drop, to 472,264. Declared Bill LeBlond-Valentine, president of the B.C.

School Trustees' Association (BCSTA): "The statistical battle has led to considerable demoralization as boards try to maintain service levels in the classroom. Some boards have had 25 different budgets in the past three years because of confusing signals from Victoria."

The Vancouver School Board, overseeing British Columbia's largest school district with 74 elementary schools and 60 high schools, is in the forefront of the battle with the province. It is refusing to cut \$14 million from a \$473-million budget covering the 1995-96 fiscal year. And a November, 1994, survey that it conducted among 1,700 parents, which indicated 73 per cent of those dissatisfied with the cutbacks, has strengthened its determination. Indeed, chairman Pauline Wainman argues that the Vancouver board has already cut \$9.5 million from its budget in 1994 and laid off 489 teachers and outstanding staff.

Still, the government argues that it has made concessions to the school boards. Last month it passed a bill that gave boards unhappy with grants from Victoria the right to raise additional funds through extra property taxes—70 cents in the dollar agree. And education ministry spokesman Dick McNeill: "If a district feels it would like special programs, the minister has provided a mechanism for that—local referenda. That puts the onus on the school



Minister paralyzing B.C. school boards

trustees, and if they firmly believe that they require additional funds they must sell the voting public on the idea." But trustees have condemned the plan, describing it as an admission that not enough funds are being allocated to education.

In the meantime, public opposition to the government's resolve to enforce the cutbacks is growing. Vancouver secondary school students took to the streets for several days in late January to protest against crowded classrooms and reductions in such programs as home economics, fine arts and business. Then, last month 1,400 parents attended a meeting at Vancouver's Queen Elizabeth Theatre to demand that the government soften its stand. And in March 4 most of the 480 trustees who attended an emergency meeting called by the BCSTA voiced their support for boards rebelling against the government's budget guidelines. Vancouver board spokesman Chuck Garber and the meeting "shows that communities throughout the province are beginning to take a second look and think that maybe things have gone too far," if that assessment is accurate, measures such as the Delta school board's sanctuary penalty will only fuel British Columbia's protracted struggle over education cuts.

With Mark Bridges in Vancouver

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## A secret tale of mutiny

On May 4, when the Canadian Forces celebrates the 75th anniversary of their Maritime Command—formerly the Royal Canadian Navy—the events of 1949 will not figure prominently in official ceremonies. In that year the navy was rocked by a series of incidents as three Canadian warships, undergoing a secret inquiry during which the witnesses vented their anger on the understanding that their comments would never be made public. But to former and commander Louis Adette, 76, at Ottawa, the only surviving member of the three-man inquiry, the demands of history eventually overrode that understanding. And his decision to donate the last remaining copy of the 3,000-page inquiry transcript to the Public Archives of Canada has sparked the exposure of old navy secrets and brought a little-known chapter of naval history back into the public eye. Said William Law, president of the Naval Officers Association of Canada (NOAC): "We want that transcript destroyed."

The mutiny—in "incident," as senior officers called them—involved 328

sailors on the destroyers HMCS Crested and HMCS Athabaskan and on the aircraft carrier HMCS Magnificent. In each case, says Adette, the sailors staged nonviolent protests by locking themselves into their mess decks and refusing to eat; mutiny, he said, bugs, defective showers, and the similar attitudes of officers all contributed to the sailors' dissatisfaction. "None of the sailors had pretty complimentary things to say about the officers," said Adette, who added that the mutiny was not caused by subversion but by "open bloody management by the officers."

The inquiry's report convinced then-defense minister Brooke Claxton to grant amnesty to all the mutineers. And the navy drew a veil of secrecy over the event, according to Adette. There are three in little mutiny of the "incident."



Adette: a duty to history

In the Maritime Command's own archives in Halifax. But to Adette, the lessons to be learned outweighed his agreement to destroy the transcripts. "This is much too important to conceal," Adette told *Maclean's*.

When Adette donated the transcripts in 1979 he insisted that they not be revealed without his permission, which he grants only in return for a guarantee that users reveal no names. But that did not satisfy the NOAC, which

unsuccessfully demanded the destruction of the transcripts. Now, renewed publicity surrounding the shakedown events has inspired the officers to remove their case, this time with plans to approach Defense Minister Erik Nielsen. Good Law: "Usually, somebody has not honored their commitment, and to my mind that impairs the success of any similar inquiries in the future." For the officers, the Maritime Command's reputation as "the Silent Service" should not be abandoned without a fight. Replied Adette: "I'm not surprised. You don't think the navy wants you to find out anything, do you?"

—BARRY KOTZ in Halifax

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By George Bain

## In praise of taking pen in hand

By George Bain

A letter to the editor of *The Globe and Mail* last December began, "I have a series of inquiries or, worse to call to your attention." It went on to say, among other things, that the plural of offspring is offspring, and not offsprings, that we do not have forbearers, but forbears, and that if we speak of duty, we speak of our bonded duty, not our bounden duty. The writer ended with a conspicuous note—that this was a correspondent who could be counted on to be heard from again—with a cheer, "All best wishes for Christmas and the New Year."

That was Eugene Forsey, retired senator and freelance letter writer. *The Globe and Mail* receives between 15,000 and 16,000 letters to the editor a year, not the most received by any newspaper in the country, an honor that apparently belongs to *The Toronto Star*, but perhaps not. And *The Globe and Mail*—at least, if only an embarrassment factor is considered—with letter writers, of whom Forsey indisputably is one, who keep a sharp eye out for its every grammatical, syntactical and orthographical lapse.

Although any editor must be known (as word we will come to) by letters affecting alone of the language, there is a perverse satisfaction to be taken from such criticism. It would be pointless of letter writers to write if they thought nobody gave a damn, by implication, they think *The Globe* does. But, known or not, *The Globe* runs letters critical of itself before it runs over ones of any, the policy is that the reader is entitled to his or her shot.

(The word "the know," evidently meaning to be aware of with pains, has recent contribution to the language by the Halifax Chronicle-Herald, which modestly sought to give credit for it to the now Nova Scotia senator, Finlay MacDonald. However, no one who knows the senator could believe him capable of uttering the sentence attributed to him by *The Chronicle-Herald*, in which the verb was born: "I think the mere fact that senators are appointed is just per se probably one of the biggest contributing reasons to the fact that [the Senator] is subject, and that knows is a little.")

Most writers who take pen in hand to scold *The Globe* for its lapses do so more in sorrow—or argument—than anger, as witness the recent writer who earnestly said, "So far as Canada's national newspaper's idea of sentence structure, like, I could care less." But not all are mild. "The English in *The Globe and Mail* is getting worse," said another, "I am not speaking of basic points of grammar, but of word choices which are just plain wrong." The reader erred "between two circumstances that ultimately deplored long-standing party members of delicate status." The word evidently sought was "degraded."

Another letter writer questioned whether *Time* could be charged with "knowingly publishing false news likely to cause damage to social or racial minorities," adding that it would be cause for despair if the Criminal Code protected minorities. Another reader complained that one did not proceed casually—decisions would do, but did not come back to deal with the reference in a recent book review to a story that "palls the reader along breathlessly," which necessarily would mean that the author palled breathlessly. If that is possible, as

sure, like, I could care less." But not all are mild. "The English in *The Globe and Mail* is getting worse," said another, "I am not speaking of basic points of grammar, but of word choices which are just plain wrong." The reader erred "between two circumstances that ultimately deplored long-standing party members of delicate status." The word evidently sought was "degraded."

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**'Most writers who scold  
The Globe's editor for  
his newspaper's lapses  
do so more in sorrow  
than in anger'**

the reader's condition on being palled would be breathless. Others, more or less recently, have chided *The Globe* for saying that an immigrant convicted of arson was "labeled for deportations" instead of deportation; and for confusing "compulsion" and "compulsion," and "perspicuity" and "perspicuity." No one seems to have written to tell the paper for referring to "the sever face of the well-heeled matron"—who, of course, they have been, but of what?

Name of this is intended to suggest that *The Globe and Mail* has earned the respect and typographical and grammatical errors in print, and television are free of error, the sins of the broadcast are numerous and frequently heinous but, as with everything they do, are exposed more lovingly than in perhaps part of the press of promising to be Canada's newspaper that is responsible for *The Globe and Mail*'s seeming to attract more rocks from people who care about what is done to the language—and some, please be, do care, passionately. It was a teacher in Don Mills, Ont., Kay Johnston, a reader of *The Globe* and of Maclean's, who sent me

A Guide to Good English, which she has written, her eloquently titled article, "Enough is Enough," a sheet of horrible examples mainly from *The Globe*, and a *Windsor's Weekly*. Which column, also on your writing, in which "whether" is spelled once that way, and twice in a subsequent paragraph as "ether" (Print is susceptible to two distinct sorts of error: errors attributable to ignorance and errors attributable to rudimentary memory. Remember, I write, bare written, or will write, invariably will be found to be of the second sort.)

Johnston's collection, along with "well-heeled matron" and some others already quoted, included the mention of a book's lack of any "effective book," someone's "wordcraft" at the bank (the Oxford English Dictionary recognizes overdrafts in parentheses), "analysis of the principle points of a fiction," a "basic fundamental," an "intimidous" disease, two public bodies independently having been "discovered," and a reference—in (Globe, horror) & Globe editorial—Bibbia's "most tumultuous" sea. Turnabout, like *The Chronicle-Herald's* know, is a word with a certain ring, which suffers only from not having been taken up yet by the world's dictionaries.

In Canadian journalism retreating out of whatever light shone on it? Norman Webster, editor of *The Globe and Mail*, argues against the proposition—made—that most reasons of the language get into print the same way. As proof of his own shop, he said that he, too, was around in "the good old days," and that "the good old days were not as good as people remember them." The building, as *The Globe*'s early editors in red ink, was composed with types, "sometimes 20 or 20 on a page." And if fewer grammatical offenses slipped by, he suggested that the explanation may lie in the fact that the paper was smaller and simpler. However, implicitly an acknowledgment that the paper is no longer for not doing a good job. But perhaps we are not doing as bad a job now, in comparison to the golden age, as some people think.

What some people think, and have thought over a very long time, is about to be laid out for us to see. Shuffled and Appalled. A Century of Letters to *The Globe and Mail*, by Jack Kaplan, who edits *The Globe's* letters to the editor, is due out from Lester & Orpen Dennys late in May. The paper will make a sure bet if it doesn't get Senator Forsey to review it, which he would do real good.





# A sensuous spectacle

CATS

Musical by Andrew Lloyd Webber  
Lyrics from poems by T.S. Eliot  
Directed by Trevor Nunn  
and David Taylor

The musical *Cats* is to theatre what *E.T. The Extra-Terrestrial* is to film—a simple religious homily told with the imaginative whimsy of a child. Its unlikely threat is the poet

those ensue Webber and Trevor Nunn, the supervisory director of all Cats productions, chase the mournful Grizabella, an over-the-hill cat of loose morals who appears as an unpublished fragment of Eliot's poetry. Cats begins with the creatures assembling as they do over a year, to witness Deaconsgate guide one of them to heaven. After they have all presented themselves, the singer Grizabella, a sly Mary Magdalene

and grind away a knight's headstall. Apart from that abundant sensuality, the production fails to transform the cat into cat in any convincing way. What the choreography lacks in feline credibility it makes up for in masterly demanding gymnastics, but the enablers, talented cast in equal to the task. Sandy Shook wisely slips through several roles, and Alexandre Brasseur is dauntingly acrobatic as Mistoffelees. As Grizabella, Kathy Michael McGilgan belts out the showstopper *Memory* with desperation to spare.

*Cats* is a team song for the dying Broadway musical form—creative writing has taken second place to high design and performance standards. Using massive promotion and marketing techniques to generate pre-opening interest and ticket orders—Beverly ad revenue sales alone surpassed \$9.8 million—Webber's production company retains tight creative control. Each franchised *Cats* production almost duplicates the perfected version developed on Broadway. The hypnotic spectacle, with its soft-porn sensuality and nudgy-in-the-rich humor, is a triumph of high-tech form over lowbrow content. *Cats* is a bland, blind assurance that human beings can relate to extraterrestrials and animals—if not to one another—and still make a mammoth profit.

—MARK CARMICHAEL

## MACLEAN'S BESTSELLER LIST

### Fiction

- 1 *My Tomorrow Comes, Britain* (2)
- 2 *The Sicilian, Puzo* (2)
- 3 *The Talisman: King and Knight* (2)
- 4 *Strong Medicine, Huxley* (2)
- 5 *Family Album, Ouel* (2)
- 6 *The Fourth Protocol, Forsyth* (2)
- 7 *So long, and thanks for all the fish, Adams* (2)
- 8 *Thinner, Jackson* (2)
- 9 *Shoe Day Creek, Mandel* (2)
- 10 *First Among Equals, Archer* (2)

### Nonfiction

- 1 *Business, America with Norell* (2)
- 2 *Clifford Bayles, Drexler* (2)
- 3 *What They Don't Teach You at Harvard Business School, McConnell* (2)
- 4 *Breaking with Moscow, Shevchenko* (2)
- 5 *The Traders, Inside Canada's Stock Markets, Jaso* (2)
- 6 *Leaving Each Other, Huxley* (2)
- 7 *The Promised Land, Berman* (2)
- 8 *A Day in the Life of Canada, Edited by Cohen* (2)
- 9 *Cry of the Kikashari, Gorman and Gorman* (2)
- 10 *Guns, Gossip and Taylor* (2)

11 *Positions last week*



Dolores Kelly as Grizabella: a triumph of high-tech form over lowbrow content

T.S. Eliot, who wrote poems about cats during the 1920s to amuse himself and his gothic friends. In 1939, almost 40 years after the publication of Eliot's collection *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*, composer Andrew Lloyd Webber (*Jesus Christ Superstar*, *Evita*) set many of the intricately complex poems to music. The result is now an astonishingly successful musical which has opened in six cities around the world. Last week that figure climbed to seven as the quirky spectacle opened in Toronto's elegantly refurbished Elgin Theatre.

Eliot's book is a series of unrelated feline portraits ranging from the disheveled Mr. Mistoffelees to the greying patriarch, Old Deuteronomy. To link

these figures, rises up into the sky.

But Webber's cloying fantasy with the Bible does not serve him well. The tale of Grizabella is too obviously based on its Jewish liturgical source. In the absence of any intriguing story, saving these, forceful music or distinctive choreography, *Cats* falls back on a thunderous display of special effects. Some of designer John Myer's costumes do capture the inventive fastness of a child. Nunn has also housed the cats in a colonial junkyard which is certainly a work of art. But for all its multicolored lights and sudden puffs of smoke, the set is never integrated into the action: it sits around a closed space as the cast bumps, thrusts



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# Moody Manitoba's mystery

By Allan Fotheringham

There are three wreaths of bright flowers, red and yellow against the snow, leaning against the tomb. This is St. Boniface, just about where the Red and the Assiniboine rivers meet. The tomb sits in the courtyard of the ruins of the magnificent old St. Boniface Cathedral, mostly destroyed by fire some seven years ago.

Directly across the water is Winnipeg's downtown core, topped at Portage and Main by the lower ball by the town's present-day family, the Richardsons, represented in the Trudeau cabinet by the unfathomable Jimmy, who after several drinks on a tremendous night once told a thread-bald journalist that the Indians had spent all those years on the Prairies and had never been bright enough to fly out the window, instead dragging their belongings on two sticks behind their penis.

They face each other across the river, across two cultures, the Richardsons and the Town of Louis in Riel, president of the Provincial Government 1980-90. It is not a guess, it is a tomb—appropriately, since the man who was hanged at Regina 100 years ago, at age 41, still troubles Canada's conscience. The wise Mayor Moore says this "bizarre to mislead colonial history" has somehow made it into the company of Wilton Tel, Bobo Hood and El Old in the 1980s anniversary year of his death there are historical exhibitions and new assessments. One should note that it took 99 years from his gallows before Brian Mulroney convinced Quebec to forgive the Conservative party and Sir John A. Macdonald, who he refused to interview in the hanging.

Manitoba, still old Manitoba, refuses to get out of the national debate. John Turner never really recovered last summer after his opening gifts on the Manitoba language games. The Supreme Court of Canada is now to hand down its crucial decision on the St. Boniface speaking ticket, pursued to the highest court in the land on behalf of lawyer

Roger Blodan, who thought it not right, considering the protestant given Manitoba's francophone population back when his ticket came to his only in English.

Premier Howard Pawley and his wife government are still wiggling from the vicious backlash they received last year after trying to enslave some of those French-language rights. And the biggest hit on the Winnipeg theatre scene is a Marquis, biting revenge that does the impossible, makes an unimpeachable law entertaining Riel. It sends up all the prominent Manitobans



politicians who are still nervously wrestling a language dispute that seems to be almost settled in Quebec.

Section 22 is remarkable in that it opened at Le Cercle Maltre in St. Boniface. It is now playing to sold-out audiences at the Prairie Theatre Exchange in downtown Winnipeg. The same five actors—four men and Gaille Rousseau, a lady whose body language contains more than 20 letters—played it in French in St. Boniface and now do it in English. The reveal demonstrates that Manitoba, despite the legislative developments of last year and the headlines, still has a francophone element that separates it from the rest of Western Canada and makes New Brunswick the only province that understands its problems.

The reveal is almost responsible to explain outside Winnipeg, even its cuisine and literature can only be understood by the locals. Like Australian wine, it would not travel well. It moves from Sir John A., immensely played by

the body-bending Rousseau, to Riel, the prisoner's grave Franco-Manitoban, through the Multicultural Blues and the speaking ticket to The Liberal Shuffle. What British Columbia badly needs is a similar soap-and-dance restoration of Mrs. W. Bennett and her restaurant prices or Ontario should be gifted with a cabaret treatment of the Big Blue Machine. If Winnipeg can make language problems laughable, there may be hope for us all.

Winnipeg is a strange place, rich, as quoted by Peter Norrish, through "dead men's shoes." Most anyone of importance has left, and the leftover money is managed by hordes of little imagination, personality or national interest. It has a dignity demand either Calgary, Edmonton or Regina, but I can't figure out what still keeps it alive. Premier Pawley seems saved these days only by the tentative and weekly performance of new Tony Leader Gary Filmer, who was overshadowed in the language showdown last year by his predecessor, the terrible-limped Gordie Lyle, one of the great 19th-century minds of the West.

Californians now has the most stable economy of any Canadian province, with oil and gas and potatoes and greenhouses withering its grain base. Alberta will recover because of its energy base. And British Columbia will survive on its physical beauty. Manitoba? What does Manitoba have but Gail Rousseau, a lady of how many Canadian flags? What else but tall thin tall, belted brand? One wonders. Now that Lloyd Axworthy has been deprived of paying all of downtown Winnipeg, where will the money come from? His brother, Tom, has been removed from the Prime Minister's Office and now resides in exile at Harvard. Winnipeg gives good theatre, but we wonder about the company.

And oh yes. It is beginning to feel a bit gaily about Lena Rose. There is now, in downtown Winnipeg, a Place Lena Rose. And Michael Decker, who is Pawley's brains power behind-the-throne and is married to a French-Canadian lady, has his first child. The tale has been named Riel Decker.



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